A New Pentagon Strategy? *Andrew Hamilton*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

February 10, 1968, 40 cents

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT

People as the Enemy

The Scorched Earth of Vietnam

D. Gareth Porter

Republican Hatfield *Alex Campbell*

Poor Cow *Stanley Kauffmann*

Dodd Is Alive *Robert Yoakum*

Clifford's Client(s) *John Osborne*

Virginia Woolf *Joseph Featherstone*

NEWSPAPER
GUY M BAILEY
UNIV OF VT
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A special service for New Republic readers

THE NEW REPUBLIC BOOKSTALL

You can buy any or all of the books in the select group below at substantial savings. Minimum order $5.00. Add 25c per order for postage and handling.

1. THE CONFESSIONS OF NAT TURNER by William Styron. In 1831 a revolt was led by a remarkable Negro preacher named Nat Turner, an educated slave who felt himself divinely ordained to anihilate all the white people in the region. The story is told by Nat Turner himself as he awaits his execution. Undoubtedly William Styron's finest novel.
Reg. price $6.95 your price $5.59

5. THE EVIDENCE OF WASHINGTON by William Walton, Photographs by Evelyn Hofer. Washington, D. C. is many things. It is past and it is present. It is famous persons. It is famous places. It is somber symbols. It is atmosphere and mood. All of these are captured in words and photographs in this remarkable book. Aside from the beautiful 144 pages of black and white and color photographs, it is the most intelligent book on the nation's capital ever published.
Reg. price $17.95 your price $8.95

6. THE SENSE OF WONDER by Rachel Carson with photographs by Charles Pratt and others. "An eloquent plea for parents to rekindle their own feeling for nature and help children use all their senses as avenues of delight and discovery," says the N.Y. Times. Now in paperback.
Reg. price $2.50 your price $1.99

10. THE NEW YORK TIMES COOKBOOK, edited by Craig Claiborne. An excellent standard cookbook consisting of 1,500 recipes tested in The New York Times kitchen. It emphasizes international dishes but includes enough typical American ones. A superior production. Illustrated.
Reg. price $9.95 your price $7.95

15. THE PREVALENCE OF NONSENSE by Ashley Montague and Edward Darling. This is scholarship rolling a hoop, revealing the cheerful or sometimes ghastly truths by which we live. Here are the errors which mankind accepts as gospel. A droll book by an outstanding anthropologist and a witty satirist.
Reg. price $5.95 your price $4.75

19. THE LAWYERS by Martin Mayer. Here are lawyers of all kinds: criminal, divorce, corporate, county-seat prosecutors, civil rights, and judges. And here is a lucid exposition of the law they practice and how it got to be that way. This top-flight reporter tells about fees and what lawyers do for their money. He discusses the skill of the profession, often in the words of lawyers themselves. Actually, the book deals with the real workings of the society we live in.
Reg. price $8.95 your price $7.15

20. OUR CROWD: The Great Jewish Families of New York by Stephen Birmingham. A fascinating view of one of the richest segments of a rich city: Jewish upper-class life in New York—vibrant, exotic, romantic, special. Fifth Avenue mansions where 60 sat down to dinner attended by as many footmen, castles in Westchester, villas in New Jersey, private railway cars, vast art collections, millions given away quietly and uncounted. These are remarkable individuals of resplendent dynasties. A superb social history.
Reg. price $8.95 your price $7.15

24. ORBIT OF CHINA by Harrison Salisbury. This leading journalist traveled 25,000 miles seeking from peasants and princes the story of China: war or peace between China and America, the Indian-Chinese struggle, the Sino-Soviet conflict. This is a narrative of personal experience and penetrating analysis.
Reg. price $4.95 your price $3.95

25. THE ODYSSEY OF HOMER: A Modern Translation by Richard Lattimore. "The best 'Odyssey' in modern English"—Gilbert Highet. "Foremost translator of Greek"— Hudson Review. "Master translator of the age."— William Arrowsmith. "The most accurate verse translation in the language"—Robert Lowell.
Reg. price $8.95 your price $7.15

28. THE NATURE OF HUMAN NATURE by Alex Comfort. Man's origins and recent social evolution are freshly explored by a scientist and poet who reveals the basic human drives that motivate us. Anthony Burgess compares the author to Machiavelli, Voltaire and Bernard Shaw.
Reg. price $5.00 your price $4.00

29. THE COLD WAR AS HISTORY by Louis J. Halle. George F. Kennan says Prof. Halle "has given us . . . a view on the cold war that will have a lasting effect on the treatment of the cold war in historical literature." The Washington Post recommends that this book be a must for everyone involved in international affairs.
Reg. price $6.95 your price $5.59

31. REPORT FROM IRON MOUNTAIN on the Possibility and Desirability of Peace. This highly controversial book has received wide coverage in magazines, newspapers and broadcasting. Some say it is a farce, others call it highly credible.
Reg. price $5.00 your price $3.95

32. FREEDOM AND REFORM by Henry Steele Commager. "This is . . . the achievement of a historian educator of the first rank. His handiwork has been part and parcel of the training of many millions in the meaning of the American past, and his influence will endure"—Allan Nevins.
Reg. price $6.95 your price $5.60

33. COMMON STOCKS AND UNCOMMON PROFITS (Revised) by Philip A. Fisher. The author compares his results on 18 stocks with the Dow-Jones industrial average. He tells "the reader to forget all the Wall Street mumbo jumbo . . . He gives 'The fifteen points to look for in a common stock'."
Reg. price $4.50 your price $3.60

34. THE INTELLIGENT INVESTOR: A Book of Practical Counsel (3rd Revision). Explanation for the layman of investment principles and investor attitudes in marketable securities which include redeemable US savings bonds. Updated with analysis in relation to conditions and market trends and citation of current examples.
Reg. price $5.95 your price $4.80

35. LAST REFLECTIONS ON A WAR by Bernard B. Fall. A posthumous testament to the short, brilliant and fruitful life that the author deliberately and dangerously chose to dedicate to the Vietnamese people. Mr. Fall accurately described the problem of the communication between our culture and that of Vietnam. This book represents a total commitment to a vision of history and communication.
Reg. price $4.95 your price $3.95

36. ALARMS AND DIVERSIONS by James Thurber. Short stories, essays, factual articles, and nearly 200 incomparable Thurber drawings.
Reg. price $4.95 your price $3.95

37. CHARLOTTE'S WEB by E. B. White. Pictures by Garth Williams. A classic story for youngsters . . . about a little girl named Fern who loved a little pig named Wilbur and of Wilbur's dear friend Charlotte A. Cavatica, a beautiful large gray spider who lived with Wilbur in the barn.
Reg. price $3.95 your price $3.15

38. STUART LITTLE by E. B. White. Pictures by Garth William. The first children's book by this distinguished writer. It has remained a classic. Stuart Little, a debonair mouse, is small in size only; he has the adventurousness, the great purpose, and the indomitable spirit of a heroic figure.
Reg. price $3.50 your price $2.80

39. DICTIONARY OF WORD AND PHRASE ORIGINS VOL. I by William and Mary Morris. Stories behind 3,000 everyday American words and expressions.
Reg. price $6.95 your price $5.60

40. DICTIONARY OF WORD AND PHRASE ORIGINS VOL. II by William and Mary Morris. 2,500 additional fascinating entries make this an entirely new kind of reading reference book.
Reg. price $7.50 your price $5.95

42. THE BURDEN OF RACE edited by Gilbert Osofsky. A documentary history of race relations in America from colonial times to the present. A dynamic and powerful record of the most serious and unresolved dilemma in the nation's history.
Reg. price $7.95 your price $6.35

43. THE NEW INDUSTRIAL STATE by John Kenneth Galbraith. A fresh and lucid view of economic society and the quality of modern life. The work of eight years, this fine book knits the great changes of the past 50 years into a complete and consistent view of modern industrial society.
Reg. price $6.95 your price $5.60

44. TOO STRONG FOR FANTASY by Marcia Davenport. A personal record of music, literature and politics in America and Europe over half a century. She vividly describes how her life entwined with Maxwell Perkins, Jan Masaryk, Alma Gluck, Arturo Toscanini and others.
Reg. price $8.95 your price $7.20

45. THE PUBLIC SPEAKER'S TREASURE CHEST by H. V. Prochnow. A compendium of source material to make your speech sparkle. 1,069 jokes, 539 witticisms and epigrams, 233 amusing definitions, 109 famous lives, 1,313 quotations, 319 similes, 174 colorful phrases, 299 Bible quotations, 350 proverbs, plus directions on preparing and delivering an interesting speech.
Reg. price $5.95 your price $4.85

46. EXPLORATIONS IN CREATIVITY edited by Ross Mooney (Ohio State University) and Taher Razik (State University of New York). What is the nature of creativity, and why is man creative? How is the creative person able to maintain a continuing flow of freshness and vitality? How does one nurture creativity? Can tests measure originality? Do our society and educational system support the creative person? What kind of home best encourages creativity?
Reg. price $10.00 your price $7.95

MINIMUM ORDER $5.00

THE BOOKSTALL
P. O. Box 7796
Benjamin Franklin Station NR021068
Washington, D. C. 20044

Please send the books whose numbers I have circled below.

1 5 6 10 15 19 20 24
25 28 29 31 32 33 34 35 36
37 38 39 40 42 43 44 45 46

I enclose $....., plus 25c postage and handling.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip Code _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

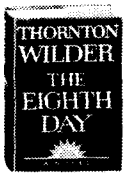
AN EXPERIMENTAL SUBSCRIPTION to the BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB will demonstrate how membership insures you against missing books you promise yourself to read and own

YOUR CHOICE OF ANY THREE FOR ONLY $1

THE SUGGESTED TRIAL: YOU AGREE TO BUY THREE ADDITIONAL CLUB CHOICES WITHIN A YEAR AT THE SPECIAL MEMBERS' PRICES

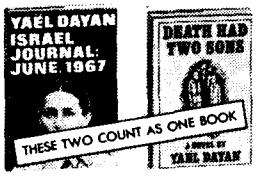
382. Retail price $5.95

381. ROUSSEAU AND REVOLUTION *by the* DURANTS (Retail price $15)

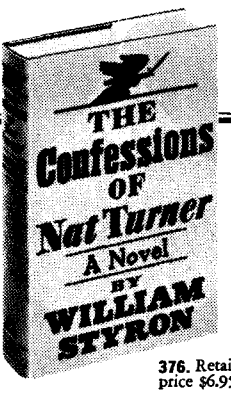


363. THE EIGHTH DAY *by* THORNTON WILDER (Ret. price $6.95)

379. MEMOIRS 1925-1950 *by* GEORGE KENNAN (Retail price $10)



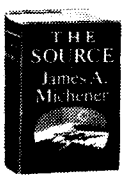
391. ISRAEL JOURNAL: June, 1967 Illustrated *and* DEATH HAD TWO SONS *by* YAEL DAYAN (Retail prices total $9.90)



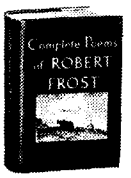
376. Retail price $6.95

234. THE OXFORD HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE (Ret. price $12.50)

378. THE UNITED STATES NAVY IN WORLD WAR II (Ret. price $12.50)

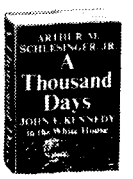


235. THE SOURCE *by* JAMES A. MICHENER. Illus. (Ret. price $7.95)



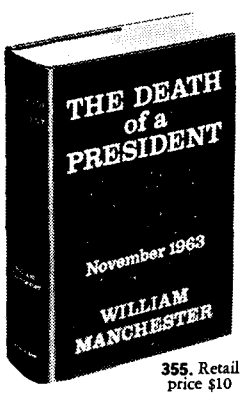
231. COMPLETE POEMS OF ROBERT FROST (Retail price $8)

291. IN COLD BLOOD *by* TRUMAN CAPOTE (Ret. price $5.95)

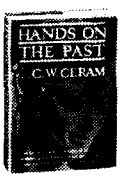


278. A THOUSAND DAYS *by* ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR. (Retail price $9)

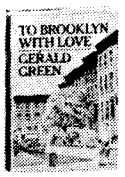
279. KENNEDY *by* THEODORE C. SORENSEN (Retail price $10)



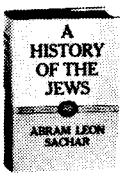
355. Retail price $10



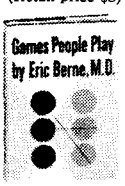
345. HANDS ON THE PAST. *Edited by* C.W. CERAM (Ret. price $8.95)



386. TO BROOKLYN WITH LOVE *by* GERALD GREEN (Ret. price $5.95)



258. A HISTORY OF THE JEWS *by* ABRAM LEON SACHAR (Ret. price $7.95)



343. GAMES PEOPLE PLAY *by* ERIC BERNE, M.D. (Retail price $5)

116. DISRAELI *by* ROBERT BLAKE Illustrated (Ret. price $12.50)

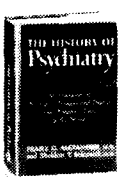
487. THE SHORT STORIES OF ERNEST HEMINGWAY (Retail price $6)

102. DOCTOR ZHIVAGO *by* BORIS PASTERNAK (Ret. price $5.95)

286. THE WHITE HOUSE AND ITS 34 FAMILIES (Ret. price $12.50)

431. THE RISE AND FALL OF THE THIRD REICH (Ret. price $12.50)

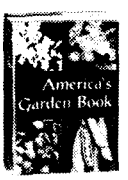
139. ULYSSES *by* JAMES JOYCE Unabridged (Ret. price $6.95)



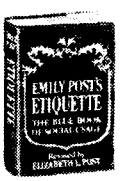
329. THE HISTORY OF PSYCHIATRY (Ret. price $11.95)

152. BARTLETT'S FAMILIAR QUOTATIONS (Ret. price $10)

103. NEW ROGET'S THESAURUS IN DICTIONARY FORM (Ret. price $4.95)



242. AMERICA'S GARDEN BOOK (Ret. price $8.95)



320. EMILY POST'S ETIQUETTE. 11th edition (Ret. price $6.95)

161. JOY OF COOKING (Ret. price $6.50)

BOOK-DIVIDENDS: A library-building plan every reading family should know about

THE EXPERIMENTAL MEMBERSHIP suggested here will not only prove, *by your own actual experience*, how effectually membership in the Book-of-the-Month Club **can keep you from missing, through oversight or overbusyness,** books you fully intend to read; it will also demonstrate another important advantage: **Book-Dividends.** Through this unique profit-sharing system members can regularly receive valuable library volumes—at a small fraction of their price—simply by buying books they would buy even if they were not Book-of-the-Month Club members.

If you continue after this experimental membership, you will earn, *for every Club Selection or Alternate you buy,* a Book-Dividend Credit. Each Credit, upon payment of a nominal sum, often only **$1.00 or $1.50**—somewhat more for unusually expensive volumes—will entitle you to a valuable Book-Dividend which you may choose from over a hundred fine library volumes whose retail prices now average $7.

This is probably the most economical means ever devised for building a well-rounded personal library. Since its inauguration, the incredible sum of **almost $415,000,000 worth of books (retail value) has been earned and received by Book-of-the-Month Club members through this unique plan.**

BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB, Inc.
345 Hudson Street, New York, N.Y. 10014 **A127-2-1**

Please enroll me as a member of the Book-of-the-Month Club and send me the three volumes whose numbers I have indicated in boxes below, billing me $1.00 for all three volumes. I agree to purchase at least three additional monthly Selections or Alternates during the first year I am a member, paying the special members' prices. I have the right to cancel my membership any time after buying these three books. If I continue after this trial, I will earn a Book-Dividend Credit for every Selection—or Alternate—I buy under the system described at left. (A small charge is added to all book shipments to cover postage and mailing expense.)
PLEASE NOTE: Occasionally the Club offers a Double Selection, two books at *a special combined price.* Such purchases are counted as a single book in fulfilling the membership obligation.

INDICATE BY NUMBER THE THREE BOOKS YOU WANT [ ] [ ] [ ]

MR. / MRS. / MISS .....
(Please print plainly)

Address..... **8-55**

City & State..... *Zone or Zip*.....

The trademarks BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB *and* BOOK-DIVIDEND *are registered by Book-of-the-Month Club, Inc., in the U.S. Patent Office and in Canada.*

The New Republic is published 48 weeks per year at $10, by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey Inc. Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

T.R.B. from Washington

What Can You Do?

★ You hate the Vietnam war, so what do you do about it? That is the hardest question we know. Before trying to answer, let's see where we stand. Saigon is just digging itself out from the latest example of underestimating the enemy. (One of the casualties, incidentally, was the new constitution, temporarily suspended.) Communist forces (which we were told a year ago couldn't be massed because of big bomber interdiction) have gathered at a place called Khe Sanh to the number of 30,000, or possibly twice that.

While we wait, the battle may be joined. If we lose then, the war may end sooner than expected; if we win (and we guess we shall) the North Vietnamese may give up mass assault for good and go back to guerrilla war.

We can win the war on the military side, we believe, but not on the guerrilla side. General Westmoreland himself says this is a "war of attrition." North Vietnam has Asia to draw on in such a war. Our elephant can stamp (to use Lippmann's vivid metaphor) but clouds of mosquitoes still rise. In the long run neither the elephant nor the mosquitoes can win.

If we can't win, then sooner or later we must pull out. We hope the terms of our departure will have some dignity for two reasons. First, we have allies to think about and people to whom our leaders have made commitments. Second, if we find no face-saving formula (and that will be hard to do) there will be passionate recriminations at the weaklings at home who did not support the brave boys at the front. We could see a situation like this embroiling the nation for a generation. And so we don't join the up-stakes, pull-out, cut-and-run school.

But in the meantime, what do we do about the war? There is a splintering sound at every stage of one's attempt to answer this question. The nation is entrapped in a terrible misadventure. The war's unpopularity is evident on every side, in the genteel draft dodging socially acceptable at the colleges, in the sullen reluctance of Congress to raise taxes. But try to say what to do about it and consensus collapses.

It has been said that intellectuals don't carry much weight. We have seen that grow into a cliché: "intellectuals never won an election." Well, weight isn't everything. A man's conscience weighs nothing at all, but carries a lot of weight with many people.

President Johnson's popularity has steadily risen in the polls in recent months and we think it can neither be ignored nor minimized. In October all four Republican possibilities could beat the President, according to Louis Harris; in December he was tied with Rockefeller, and could beat the other three. If this is true (and we only accept such a turnabout with some doubt) it indicates that the old American herd instinct may be operating. In a time of confusion and distress rally around the President. No doubt there are other factors. Hopeful feelings about the war come in waves. A popularity rise so quick can go just as fast. But we think the basic instinct is showing itself.

It bears on the question of what you do about Vietnam, for surely the purpose of most of us is to influence public opinion. The hippie can wear a rug or carry flowers: that's one way of registering protest and it infuriates the Victorians. But it's also opting out. Most of us are trying to influence society, not withdraw from it. You can lie down on highways, spit on Cabinet members, shout down public speakers. Some people do this out of conscience perhaps, but shouting down your enemy is what Communists did and Nazis did. If you think that the American democratic process has broken down then maybe only civil disobedience is left. Thoreau refused to pay taxes (till some neighbor bailed him out) and maybe that will make some consciences feel better today.

The fact is, we think that masses of restless, frustrated Americans are taking their grudges out against hippies, draft card burners, civil rights workers and unconventional people of all kinds by rallying into the center. They don't like the war and, paradoxically, they don't care much for Mr. Johnson either, but he's about the only unity symbol in sight as they see it. They might be weaned away from Mr. Johnson by somebody who lifted their spirits, gave them a sense of direction, sold them a Dream. The war would be secondary. That's where we think Sen. McCarthy's weakness may lie. He represents one thing (and all power to him), opposition to the war. He's the peace candidate. We find his cool, aseptic, witty approach appealing. But he doesn't set the blood on fire.

This reporter doesn't believe a President in normal circumstances – controlling patronage, party machinery and news events – can be kept from renomination. A rival may run as an act of conscience but won't help his cause if he makes a poor showing.

This is the torture to which Bobby Kennedy has been subjected. We believe the President hoped he would commit himself because then the White House could vindictively denounce the "Kennedy-McCarthy clique." Kennedy has decided not to run. He will not stop criticizing the war. Is he wrong? He might have sacrificed himself and gone down gloriously. Fine, perhaps. But he would have forced other congressional liberals to take sides and probably carried them down with him. If successful he would have split the party. Politicians find it hard to do such things. He is surely badly damaged by his dilemma.

My advice is to wait and see if the democratic machinery can still give a choice. There are some signs that Mr. Johnson's very strength is causing Republicans to turn to their logical candidate, Rockefeller. Nixon is the favorite if Johnson is a sure loser – as he looked last October. But as Johnson comes up, Nixon goes down.

We admit we don't know the Governor's thinking on Vietnam. But he hasn't painted himself into a Pentagon box. We do think as of now he would be the strongest GOP candidate. He might give a choice, not an echo – and perhaps, save the country from the final loss of faith in the democratic process.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Opinion Volume 158 Number 6 Issue 2775 February 10, 1968 Published weekly (except the last week in July, the second and fourth weeks in August and the last week in December) and distributed by* The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 40c. Yearly subscription $10; Foreign $11; Armed Forces personnel or students, $6. Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of addresses to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302.* *Copyright© 1968 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc.* *Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D.C. Indexed in* Readers' Guide.

CONTENTS

COMMENT 5-9

Giap's Firecracker; Decline and Fall?; A Loser, a Winner; There's a Candidate!; Test Vote; Reagan as Janus

When Spies Get Caught: Perspective on the "Pueblo" – *David Wise* 9

Republican Hatfield – *Alex Campbell* 10

Secretary Clifford's Client(s) – *John Osborne* 12

Post-McNamara: A New Pentagon Strategy? – *Andrew Hamilton* 14

Massacre in Nigeria – *Russell Warren Howe* 15

People as the Enemy – *D. Gareth Porter* 17

First and Second Looks – *Stanley Kauffmann* 20

BOOKS – *Reviews by Joseph Featherstone, Robert Yoakum, Joseph Page, Norman J. Gallo, Gerald W. Johnson* 21

FEIFFER 34

CORRESPONDENCE 35

THE STAFF

Editor-in-Chief – Gilbert A. Harrison
Managing Editor – Alex Campbell
Literary Editor – Richard Gilman
Associate Literary Editor – Stanley Kauffmann
Associate Editors – James Ridgeway, David Sanford, Joseph Featherstone
Assistant to the Editors – F. R. Ruskin
Copy Editor – Lucille Davis

Contributing Editors: Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Robert Coles, Helen Fuller, Christopher Jencks, Gerald W. Johnson, Andrew Kopkind, Paul Wieck

Publisher – Garth Hite
Circulation Manager – Bertha Lehman
Business Manager – Glenon Matthiesen

New York Advertising Representative – E. Laurence White Jr., Good-Laidley-White 50 East 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10017

Office of Literary Editor – 17 Charleton St., New York, N.Y. 10014

Giap's Firecracker

The big offensive that North Vietnam and the Viet Cong launched last week against American military positions, South Vietnamese cities and towns, and the American Embassy in Saigon, came as no surprise to people who had been studying the months-long buildup of the foe's military strength. Unfortunately, those in the know do not seem to have included General William C. Westmoreland, Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker, the White House, the Pentagon or the State Department. The knowledgeable people were mostly journalists, foreign and American, whom the officials are always loftily dismissing as rumormongers, liars and hippies who refuse to get on the team. When North Vietnamese Defense Minister General Vo Nguyen Giap's giant firecracker blew off in their faces, officials in both Saigon and Washington had the nerve to insist they'd known it was going to happen all along. If this were really the case, their apparent failure to do anything to forestall or upset Giap's long-prepared big bang would be culpable.

General Westmoreland dismissed the Viet Cong's general offensive as a feint, whose purpose was to divert troops from the American defense of Khe Sanh in the north near the demilitarized zone. He seemed to be quietly congratulating himself on refusing to be distracted. Perhaps more realistic if less reassuring, South Vietnamese President Thieu said that the situation in the country is "critical." Thieu declared martial law throughout South Vietnam and briskly whisked off stage the brand-new constitution that the Americans in Saigon had declared to be the shining emblem of confidence in victory. The constitution now goes into the stage property room. And that should be the repository of the illusions so sedulously created about diminishing Viet Cong military strength and growing Viet Cong despair. Describing official Washington's reaction, Ward Just wrote last week in *The Washington Post:* "Even the toughest of the pessimists here had not thought the communists could mount so many offensives with so many men." The Administration has many more brash optimists than tough pessimists. The latter soon learn to keep their mouths shut about the Emperor maybe having no clothes on, if they wish to keep their jobs.

Yet you'd think even the most determinedly sunny yea-sayer would take note of what was under his nose for several months at least. The military buildup of North Vietnam and of the Viet Cong was much accelerated after new defense pacts were concluded between Hanoi

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and various communist countries, last August and September. The Czechs sent small arms. The Chinese took time out from their own giant internal upheavals to send heavy machine guns and light mortars. The Russians who last year donated a billion dollars worth of military aid to North Vietnam, according to McNamara, sent heavy artillery, MIG-23 planes, rockets and other weapons. A French journalist reported in December, after traveling more than two months in North Vietnam, that he had seen "formidable weapons of Russian and Chinese origin."

East European correspondents in Hanoi report that the North Vietnamese now have land-to-sea rockets that could threaten American warships off the North Vietnamese coast. The rockets are of the type that the Egyptians used to sink an Israeli gunboat recently. In South Vietnam, the enemy troops and guerrilla fighters have a Soviet automatic rifle, the AK-47, as good as the American M-16. They also have an advanced rocket-launcher, and 60mm, 82mm and 120mm rockets; a Viet Cong soldier can lay down just as much firepower as an American soldier in Vietnam. Lt. Gen. Frederick C. Weyand, commander of the US Second Field Force, told *The New York Times* in Saigon: "There is no question about it, the South Vietnamese Army is outgunned by the Viet Cong."

American bombing of the trails that lead from North to South Vietnam has completely failed to prevent troops and supplies coming through. Both are increasing. Last week's widespread attacks once again showed how much support among the South's population the Viet Cong have. General Westmoreland now says the enemy "has put forth his maximum effort." But Hanoi has an army of between 300,000 and 350,000 men still fully intact.

The Soviet Union is clearly determined to stand by North Vietnam and the Viet Cong. At the same time, Russia wishes to see an end of the highly dangerous war and has blisteringly lambasted the Chinese for "prolonging the Vietnam conflict." The Russians can't let down the North, or the Viet Cong, without risking losing all influence in Hanoi – and quite likely in other communist capitals as well – to the Chinese. The real aim of the Giap offensive is to get to the negotiating table, but on far more favorable terms than anyone has talked about in Washington or Saigon. That means as a minimum the inclusion of Viet Cong elements in a coalition government in Saigon. President Thieu knows as much, which is why he declared nervously, "any political activities favorable to the communists under the label of peace or coalition government will be severely punished." Nevertheless, coalition may be the solution that South Vietnam's Roman bishops, Buddhists and many war-weary civilians would support – if the choice were theirs.

Decline and Fall

In trouble with rising prices at home and a beleaguered dollar abroad, President Johnson looked around to see what he could cut in the budget and the axe – according to Mr. Johnson – fell on the military. They asked him for more than $100 billion; sternly, he cut them to just under $80 billion. Alas, there is a "but." The President told Congress: "We may have to put some of it back." Within hours of that budget statement it became clear there *would* be a need to raise the military ante, for both client states in Asia, South Vietnam and South Korea.

A shrinkage of the budget deficit, to a proposed $8-billion compared with almost $20 billion in the current fiscal year that ends this June, depends on holding down federal government spending and boosting revenues by the 10 percent tax surcharge that the Administration asked for last year, didn't get and still wants. With the military managing to talk the President and his new Defense Secretary into giving them more than the $79.8 billion proposed in the budget, then should Wilbur Mills again refuse to let Mr. Johnson have his tax increase, the consequence will be either a much bigger deficit than $8 billion, or further butchery of nonmilitary items, like housing, schools, hospitals, relief. The betting favors a bit of both: an enlarged deficit and more welfare butchery. It would be nice to be delicate and call the latter surgery, but the cuts that seem to be in prospect are such that the chosen instrument is clearly the meat axe, not the scalpel. And the victims will be the urban and rural poor.

Putting it as succinctly as possible, spending on welfare in dollars of constant value is about to *fall* by at least three percent, on a per capita basis, and when allowance is made for rising prices and growth of population – and this in the richest country in the world that is supposed to be getting still richer every year. The question is, getting richer in what sense? Each year there is about $50 billion more of national wealth to dispose of. Where does it go? According to last week's report of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, not enough of it goes to preventing "rioting, despair and threatened anarchy" in the nation's largest cities, which the report says threaten the country's system of government with its biggest crisis since the Civil War.

How much of the welfare-into-guns syndrome is due to Vietnam? The basic figures tell the story. Back in the Golden Age, 1964-65, military spending in Vietnam – will anyone believe it? – was a mere $103 million. By fiscal year '66, it was $5.8 billion. Last year it was $24.5 billion, a 237-fold increase in three years, and in the coming fiscal year commencing July 1, the estimated spending is $25.7 billion – unless of course

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mr. Johnson has to restore some of the cuts he says he's imposed on the military, in which case Vietnam spending will be higher. Those who wish to look on the bright side may comfort themselves that the proposed increase in Vietnam spending is a mere $1.2 billion; but then there are all the other costly defense items, like missiles and anti-missile systems, that bring the proposed increased defense spending to $3.3 billion. In an "austerity" budget, this leaves precious little margin for spending on human welfare. For instance, President Johnson is asking for $1.2 billion for federal aid to elementary and secondary schools, which is no more than the proposed *increase* for Vietnam military spending, and is a thumping cut, about 50 percent, in the amount for aid to education that Congress authorized last year. Now we all know for sure why John W. Gardner quit HEW.

The lesson of the budget is plain. Increasing military purchases of goods and services are accounting for a rising proportion of the country's economic growth (*e.g.*, almost two-fifths of the growth of "wealth" that was recorded between mid-1966 and the middle of last year). This means rising prices at home and a dollar that has to be defended by extraordinary measures abroad. Inflation and a worsening balance of payments in turn mean "austerity" budgets. But the austerity is confined to spending on welfare, for military spending is sacred. If this is long continued, the world's wealthiest nation will bankrupt itself abroad while falling into race and class conflicts at home, as the Roman Empire did. The root of the evil is the Vietnam war. President Johnson's boast that we can afford both guns and welfare has quickly proved a vain one.

A Loser, a Winner

Two minor but fascinating entries in the 1,142-page Budget of the United States affect the future of two American institutions – the National Rifle Association and the Subversive Activities Control Board.

Since 1903 the federal government has been promoting "civilian interest in small arms marksmanship with military-type weapons" and providing assistance to gun clubs. This has always been a great boon to the NRA's 920,000 members. The US Army has offered up to 60 million rounds of ammunition annually to affiliated clubs, as well as money for the construction, equipment and maintenance of rifle ranges, marksmanship instruction, travel expenses for rifle teams and participants in national, regional and international competition. To get one's hands on some of this booty one merely had to join or organize a gun club affiliated with NRA. Under the program the Army also supplied on loan numerous surplus small arms.

In November, the Army decided to cancel its participation in the 1968 national rifle and pistol matches at Camp Perry, Ohio, thus saving perhaps a million dollars and forcing the NRA to go it alone. The budget released last week effectively finishes off the government's unsavory relationship with NRA. Last year's appropriation of $428,000 for gifts and loans to the riflemen has been cut to zero (although there is still a $52,000 hidden subsidy). The staff of the Army's National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice has been trimmed from 22 to five. Anyone who plans to shoot it out in the streets this summer will now have to get his gun and bullets elsewhere.

But Mr. Johnson has had a soft spot in his heart for the Subversive Activities Control Board ever since he appointed his former secretary's husband to a $26,000-a-year sinecure on the Board last year. The SACB survived public controversy over the appointment and congressional demands for its abolishment. But since it has heard no "subversive activities" for years, the Board's continuance requires it to come up with some commies soon, which it will. The attorney general has filed charges against the W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs of America. (SACB officials prefer the French pronunciation of Du Bois first suggested by Richard Nixon, to avoid confusion with Du Bois Scouts of America.) "From its inception" states the Ramsey Clark allegation, "the DCA has been and is substantially directed, dominated and controlled by the Communist Party and has been and is primarily operated for the purpose of giving aid and support to the Communist Party." The Board's hearing, originally set for February 5, has been postponed to February 27. "If it ever gets started," a SACB staff member predicted last week, "the hearing will take weeks."

The Administration's budget requests a 33 percent increase in the Board's appropriation for the next fiscal year – for a total of $425,000, about the same amount withheld from the NRA. The Board, which has gotten along with less and done nothing, will also need two new staff people at salaries of $20,000 and $17,000.

There's a Candidate!

No one fell off his seat last week on learning that Richard Nixon is running for the Presidency this year, and that Senator Robert Kennedy is not. Nor are we likely to be astonished by anything Mr. Nixon says in the next six months. He will doggedly argue he can fight crime and communism better than any Democrat.

Senator Kennedy's decision not to challenge Lyndon Johnson "under any foreseeable circumstances" came after an exhaustive count which convinced him he wouldn't win the nomination, and might, in trying to get it, make it awkward for hard-pressed Democrats running for reelection. The corollary to nonopposition

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to Johnson is nonsupport of Eugene McCarthy. (Privately, Kennedy has gone beyond nonsupport and been sharply critical of McCarthy's performance.) At least the air has been cleared. Henceforth, those who feel strongly, as Kennedy does, that we are on a deadly course in Asia, and who believe it can only be reversed by a change in national leadership, have only one Democratic candidate – McCarthy. Kennedy-watchers can put up or shut up. Or become Rockefeller-watchers, like *The New York Times*.

There is, of course, another alternative for dispirited Democrats: take a vacation, stop reading, unplug TV sets; in brief, follow the lead of the politicians who in their hearts know McCarthy is right but don't think it would do any good to say so. Abstention, however, is bad medicine. A healthy politics requires that passionate identification with a man and a cause which brought thousands of volunteers into the campaigns of Eisenhower, Stevenson, Goldwater, John F. Kennedy.

McCarthy seems unperturbed. Poor man, he's behaving as if the situation of the country were desperate, but not hopeless, and as if the people had a choice. Off he goes to Oregon, to Florida, then back to New Hampshire – as if he hadn't been told by the chairman of the Democratic National Committee that Lyndon Johnson is a sure thing.

"And if elected, I will personally go to Korea. . . ."

Test Vote

Senator McCarthy's candidacy could receive a pre-New Hampshire boost February 20 when voters in Brooklyn's 13th Congressional District go to the polls in a special election to select a successor to ex-Rep. Abraham Multer (D), who resigned after his election to the bench last fall. The race is being billed as "Brooklyn's presidential primary" inasmuch as Mel Dubin, an aggressive young reformer who almost unseated Multer in 1966 by using the twin issues of Multer's ethics in office and peace, will be running again. However, because the regular organization will name the Democratic nominee, Dubin will have to run as an independent in the special election.

The nominee of the regulars (Assemblyman Bert Podell, who doesn't live in the district but was the choice of Stanley Steingut, the Kings County Democratic chairman) is expected to hedge on the peace issue but stand four-square behind President Johnson. Dubin, on the other hand, is supporting Senator McCarthy and will once again concentrate on the peace issue and the need for party reform in Brooklyn.

Two years ago, Multer's forces turned back Dubin's bid in the final weeks (Dubin only lost by 900 out of 40,000 votes) by making a direct appeal to bigotry with a carefully staged campaign on the busing issue. Multer, at meeting after meeting in which his workers would bring the question up, recited his record of opposition to busing school children. The heavily Italian precincts in the Bensonhurst area of Brooklyn turned in top-heavy margins for Multer. But the rest of the district, which runs from Flatbush to Coney Island and is basically middle- to upper-middle-class Jewish in makeup, gave Dubin an edge.

Since then, Steingut has forced Multer to step aside to prevent open revolt within the organization's clubhouses, and in the special election the voters will be given a choice between a pro-McCarthy "reformer" and a pro-Johnson "regular."

Reagan as Janus

Is Ronald Reagan going to turn out to be a disappointment to the conservatives who put principles above performance? He is behaving very peculiarly. He favored tax cuts while raising taxes, asked for tuition in the state university but didn't insist on it, planned state budget cuts but increased spending. The latest example of his Janus-like behavior is his failure to veto the California Rural Legal Assistance program.

One of the few showpieces of the moribund poverty war, CRLA has given the governor a lot of trouble. It successfully fought in the California courts cuts in the state's Medi-Cal program. Against Reagan's wishes, it

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

agitated against continued importation of braceros. The Office of Economic Opportunity is pleased that CRLA has aided millions of poverty-stricken Californians in their battle with the state welfare bureaucracy. The program was refunded by OEO December 22 and Reagan, under law, had 30 days in which to exercise a veto. Sargent Shriver can override such a veto, but everyone expected Reagan to at least interpose his objection.

On January 9 – 13 days before the veto deadline – Reagan's office notified Laurence P. Horan, regional director of OEO that unless 15 conditions were met the Governor could be expected not to approve funding. Reagan wanted to cut CRLA's staff, reduce its budget, require local bar association approval in each county where poverty lawyers operated, forbid lawyers from soliciting lawsuits, require that three private attorneys refer a client to CRLA before it could take cases that might end in legal action against public or publicly supported agencies. In short he wanted to destroy the program, without admitting it.

OEO was willing to discuss these recommendations with the governor, but it refused to accede to hamstringing proposals. Horan wrote Reagan that he considered some of his terms "a breach of the federal government's commitment to the poor," and a violation of the canons of legal ethics. Horan asked "that all modifications in the CRLA grant proposed by the governor's office be withdrawn." In return he promised to clarify, but not to change, OEO's position on the grant to CRLA. This amounted essentially to a promise to *consider*, later, some of Reagan's criticisms. He specifically refused, however, to honor Reagan's insistence on local bar approval of suits and of referral by three lawyers of clients wishing to sue public agencies.

Would such a "compromise" have satisfied a Barry Goldwater? Reagan swallowed it. He had not succeeded in doing in CRLA or in making even minor alterations in the program; however . . . OEO's tepid "concessions" gave him something to tell the readers of *The National Review*, who need constant reassurance that their man is not playing footsy with *welfarism*.

COMING: *Literary Editor Richard Gilman writes about the arts and their critics*

When Spies Get Caught: Perspective on the "Pueblo"

"These activities," Dwight D. Eisenhower once said about espionage operations, "have their own rules and methods of concealment which seek to mislead and obscure." He made the remark in May 1960, trying to explain his tragicomic handling of the U-2 affair, the first great postwar intelligence fiasco to surface to public view. Eisenhower's caveat has been largely forgotten. The *Pueblo* incident, despite its gravity, might not have been so incendiary an event, if the public were more sophisticated about the intelligence war that has been going on for more than two decades.

The seizure of the ship was but the latest in a chain of cold war incidents (albeit the most frightening, because it endangered the lives of 83 men) that began in 1960 with the downing of the U-2, a CIA reconnaissance plane, 1,200 miles inside the Soviet Union, and continued with the shooting down of the RB-47 over the Barents Sea later that year, and the rocket and torpedo attack by Israeli forces on the USS *Liberty* last June.

Candor is not normally the government's first reaction when something goes wrong. The U-2 was first described as a "weather" plane until Nikita Khrushchev revealed he had captured both plane and pilot. Although the RB-47, a reconnaissance version of the B-47 bomber, was on a ferret mission along Russia's northern border when it was shot down, Washington termed it an "electromagnetic" research plane. When the *Liberty*, a spy ship, was attacked last June, a high Pentagon official backgrounded newsmen that the vessel was off El Arish to bounce signals off the moon.

When North Korean gun boats seized the *Pueblo*, Washington, significantly, and for the first time in such circumstances, described the vessel as an "intelligence" ship. This may have been said not so much from any desire to appear credible as from the fact that the Pyongyang regime, by capturing the ship, possessed physical evidence of its electronic intelligence (ELINT) mission.

The Navy, however, does insist the *Pueblo* was under operational control of COMNAV, Japan, Navy headquarters for that part of the world, rather than under the direct command of an intelligence agency. In all probability its electronic findings were being fed back to the National Security Agency headquarters building just east of the Baltimore-Washington Parkway in Fort Meade, Maryland. There, in a building even larger than the CIA's headquarters at Langley, Virginia, the data collected on ELINT missions is processed by PROD, the key and biggest division of the ultra-secret code agency. From there, the information

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on North Korean radar defenses, codes and air-ground communications would be disseminated to the CIA, the Defense Intelligence Agency, the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research and other branches of the intelligence community, to be analyzed and carded – more information for the insatiable computers.

Although it has never been admitted officially, the name of the game in ELINT missions is to get in close enough to enemy territory to agitate their electronic defenses. The more fuss a ferret plane or ship can stir up the better it can read the radar "signature" of the target country.

In the United Nations, Ambassador Goldberg made a strong case that the *Pueblo*, when seized, was at least 15 miles off the nearest North Korean point of land. About whether the ship might have ventured inside North Korean territorial waters at *any* time during its mission, Washington was less emphatic. "We have no information whatever pointing in that direction," Secretary of State Dean Rusk told reporters. "The ship was in international waters at all stages according to every indication we have." But *The New York Times* reported that Mr. Rusk, when pressed on this point inside the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "was said to have explained that he could not be categorical because the *Pueblo*, until the time of her seizure, was maintaining radio silence and was not reporting her position."

There is also a problem of what is meant by "international waters." The US definition is anything outside the three mile limit. North Korea claims 12 miles (as does Hanoi).

It is not always a simple matter for a naval vessel to tell exactly how far it is from land. Surface radar can indicate distance to the coastline up to about 25 miles, but it is not absolutely reliable. A low coastline can fool the radar, because the ship may be bouncing a signal off a mountain peak that is five miles inland but thought to be the coastline. The Navy's electronic navigational systems like LORAN and OMEGA can err. LORAN A, for example, can be as much as 5 miles off, and even the more accurate LORAN C can be wrong by one to two miles. (A Navy spokesman would not say what type of navigational equipment was aboard the *Pueblo*.)

The question, in all of these activities designed "to mislead and obscure" is whether the game is worth the candle. Espionage always entails risks. But was it worth sending the U-2 over Russia at a lower than usual altitude two weeks before the summit meeting? Was monitoring Israeli and Egyptian communications during the Middle East crisis worth the lives of 34 men on the *Liberty*? Was there any intelligence to be gleaned off Wonsan, North Korea, that was worth risking 83 men, the *Pueblo*, American prestige, and a second front in Asia? Amid all the uproar the point was made by, of all people, Sen. Karl Mundt: "We should not be running spy ships into controversial areas in a provocative manner, unless it is highly important that we get information that is not otherwise available."

DAVID WISE

Republican Hatfield

Oregon's Other Maverick Senator

by Alex Campbell

Mark Odom Hatfield, the Republican senator from Oregon, is all the more bitter a pill for the extremists of his party to swallow because by the double test of good looks and good works he could be the all-American boy. Hatfield's flaw in the extremists' eyes is that he is a liberal. Only a year in the Senate, and he says things like: "Congress sits in its walnut-paneled offices, utterly aloof from the ghettos and content to mirror white middle-class complacency."

Hatfield is also a nonconformist. At the governors' conference of 1965, he and George Romney of Michigan cast the only votes against President Johnson's Vietnam war policy. Since then, Hatfield has acted as gadfly to antiwar Republicans like Romney and Senator Percy of Illinois, stinging them to more forthright condemnations of the war than they might otherwise have ventured upon.

To Hatfield, the war is "clearly a civil war among the Vietnamese people," into whose lives this country "inserted" itself in the early fifties. Successive Administrations have "distorted" the war "as an ambitious plan of world communism to gobble up Vietnam and dominate Asia." The Johnson Administration has "deliberately misinterpreted the 20-year history of this conflict to justify our present involvement." Now, "the South Vietnamese have truly become spectators in their own war," which is being fought by us.

Hatfield's views on Vietnam stem from his experiences in the Pacific in the Second World War. In

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1945, his Navy ship put in at Haiphong, the Vietnamese port. Its mission was to take off Chinese Army units that had fought their way through the Japanese lines. It seemed then to Hatfield that the Chinese soldiers of anti-communist Chiang Kai-shek who was fighting the Japanese, and the Vietnamese under communist Ho Chi Minh who was fighting the French colonialists, were mainly moved by nationalism. Nationalism, not communism, was the strongest force in Asia. That is still the senator's opinion. (It is also the opinion of Professor John K. Fairbank and other leading American specialists on Asian affairs.)

Hatfield recalls that under the Geneva Agreements of 1954 that ended the fighting between the Vietnamese and the French, after the French lost the battle of Dienbienphu, national elections were to be held in Vietnam in 1956. Meantime, Ho Chi Minh ruled the North, and the South selected Ngo Dinh Diem as president. The senator says Diem identified with the Vietnamese landlords who had cooperated with the French during the country's war for independence, and that Diem's "government was inconceivably corrupt." Had the 1956 elections been held, Ho Chi Minh was so popular he would easily have won. But the United States and Diem decided to stall, and Vietnamese opposition to Diem's cruel rule developed into civil war.

Hatfield assails the Johnson Administration for maintaining "that it has constantly sought to establish peace talks," when in fact, he believes, attempts at negotiation have time and again been torpedoed from the White House or from the seventh floor of the State Department. In order to get peace talks going, the senator would try to bring almost everyone into the act – the United Nations, a reconvened Geneva Conference, an all-Asian conference. He aims specifically at "de-Americanizing the war," getting American troops out and getting the problem into the hands of Asians, "the people who have a primary stake in its outcome." He's all in favor of stopping the bombing of North Vietnam, and insists we're dealing with a "political problem" that doesn't have a military solution. But the first step to peace is "to honestly admit our past miscalculations," and to recognize "that Ho Chi Minh has been fighting since before the end of the Second World War and always under the primary cause of nationalism not communism."

Hatfield's concern with Vietnam has led him to examine the draft, conclude it is obsolete, and to introduce last year an "Armed Forces Improvement Act" providing for early transition to a fully volunteer military system. Senator Symington of Missouri, a senior member of the Armed Services Committee, concluded years ago that the draft ought to be replaced by volunteer professional soldiers. Hatfield agrees, and his bill, which didn't pick up much support, sought to end the draft this July. Under the present system, the senator points out, 43 percent of the Army at any given time has less than a year's experience, resulting in such well-known anomalies as that in the Korean war more than 600,000 World War II veterans were called back while 1.6 million young men of draft age were not called at all. It costs $3 billion a year to train draftees, of whom 95 percent leave the military when their two years are up. A voluntary system would cost the country an extra $4 billion annually for increased pay sufficient to attract recruits to maintain the armed forces at a level of 2,650,000 men.

Hatfield's liberal views undoubtedly helped him get elected Republican governor of Oregon in 1958 against a strong Democratic tide. Then 36, he was one of the youngest state governors in history. He had other things going for him, including humble beginnings. His father was a railroad blacksmith, his mother – Dovie – a schoolteacher. Just before the election, Hatfield married the pretty daughter of a Portland longshoreman. After serving in the Navy and seeing action at Iwo Jima and Okinawa, Hatfield worked his way up from instructor to associate professor of political science at his alma mater, Willamette University in Salem, the state capital. Simultaneously he got elected as an Oregon representative, state senator, then as Oregon's secretary of state. Throw in that he's a devout Baptist and has four nice kids, and the image of a Horatio Alger character seems complete.

But though Hatfield served two highly successful four-year terms as governor of Oregon, and won the friendship if not the votes of the AFL-CIO by his pro-labor policies, he never won over his own party's old pros. He said back in 1962, "I've just about given up trying to please them." Hatfield is a notable illustration of the GOP's seemingly inveterate death wish. A popular governor, he worked hard to revitalize the party organization in Oregon; despite all his efforts, it stayed moribund. While Hatfield was striving to sell the party to the electorate as "the party of social concern," the Republican pros were condemning him as a man who betrayed Republican principles in order to win elections.

At the 1960 Republican convention, Hatfield nominated Nixon for President. When Nixon was defeated by Kennedy, Hatfield switched allegiance to Rockefeller. Ever since, some Republicans have talked hopefully of a Rockefeller-Hatfield ticket one day putting a Republican back in the White House. This aspiration needless to say is not shared by the Republican Old Guard. At the 1964 party convention, Hatfield as the keynoter played the role of the quiet, reasonable, anti-Birch Society moderate. His reward, and Rockefeller's, was that these two strictly reared Baptists found them-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

selves being pointed at by little old ladies all screaming "Jew!"

Hatfield today says a bit wistfully he trusts the 1964 exhibition acted as a "catharsis" for his party's more full-blooded members, and that this year Republicans will pull together to win. He says he hopes they will go to the electorate with an issue, since they don't have an Ike. Startlingly, Hatfield sees himself (but is not pushing) as a potentially valuable adjunct to either Rockefeller *or* Nixon. To those who do a double take at this mention of Nixon, the senator explains that either aspirant probably would benefit by having as his running mate a liberal who might woo the necessary Democratic, independent, minority and young votes. This suggests that Hatfield suspects Nelson Rockefeller's views on Vietnam, if and when they get unveiled, may not be any more liberal than Nixon's, however wholesome Rockefeller may look to liberal voters on domestic issues. Hatfield adds with emphasis that, while he wouldn't refuse the Vice President's spot, nothing will tempt him to modify his well-known opinions on the Vietnam war.

Hatfield's swift career suggests this is true, if only because his experiences indicate that, at least in Oregon, liberalism pays political dividends. His harsh treatment at San Francisco in 1964 didn't hurt him in his state, apparently. The following July, he voted alone with Romney against the war, though he knew then that in a few months he would be contesting for the United States Senate seat of Mrs. Maurine Neuberger, with Robert B. Duncan, an all-out supporter of the war. Hatfield won, and Duncan concluded from his own defeat that the normally Democratic state "wants stronger efforts for peace."

In the Senate, Hatfield has continued to oppose the war with passion, yet manages to give the impression that this is because he is the same moderate, thoughtful, reasonable man who keynoted his party's turbulent 1964 convention. It's those other fellows, he implies, who have lost their cool. Talking about the *Pueblo* incident in his Senate office last week, Hatfield remarked that he was sorry to see Senator Henry Jackson appear to agree with Senator Strom Thurmond's violent advocacy of all-out war on North Korea if necessary. "'Scoop' normally cools it," Hatfield said. "Strom thinks with his glands."

Secretary Clifford's Client(s)

In the early 1950s, soon after Clark Clifford left the Truman White House and set up the Washington law firm of Clifford & Miller, I took him at his word and, in a *Fortune* article about him and other Washington lawyers of his special kind, described his services to one of his clients – the Radio Corporation of America – exactly as he had described those services in an interview. RCA was then involved in a case before the Federal Communications Commission, having to do with the development of color television, but the firm of Clifford & Miller was not among the "attorneys of record" for RCA in that or any other proceeding. According to Clifford, his labors for RCA consisted solely of telling its executives and the lawyers actually arguing the case how to conduct themselves. He depicted his work for RCA just about as John Sharon, one of his legal associates, has more recently defined the services that Clifford & Miller does and does not render all of its clients. "We operate according to set rules," *The Washington Post* of January 28 quotes Sharon as saying, "and one of those rules is that we lobby for no one. We may advise someone else how to lobby, who to talk to, what to say. But we do no lobbying ourselves."

Clifford's services appeared to come to so little that one of *Fortune's* readers, Brigadier General David Sarnoff of RCA, picked up a question that the article had raised. It was whether Clifford and Washington attorneys like him really earned their fees if, as they invariably insisted, they never lifted a finger with Congress and federal officialdom in behalf of their clients. Clifford submitted to General Sarnoff, in writing, an account very different from the one he had given me. It listed, by day and hour, an impressive series of personal intercessions with the members and staff of the Communications Commission and left no doubt that Clifford, so recently President Truman's valued Special Counsel, would take the cause of RCA to the White House if that seemed necessary. With his judgment in retaining Clifford thus vindicated, General Sarnoff triumphantly assured *Fortune* that RCA was getting its money's worth.

The relevant point of this episode is that the mode of operation it reflects is judged to have no bearing whatever upon Clifford's qualifications to be our ninth Secretary of Defense. President Johnson surely knew when he chose Clifford to succeed Robert S. McNamara, and members of the Senate Armed Services Committee knew when they approved the nomination, that Clifford has done a good deal more for his

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

many corporate clients than share with them his knowledge of Washington's ways and by-ways. Clifford spoke with the confidence of a man who is accustomed to belief and believes himself entitled to it when he said at the White House, just after his appointment: "I will have one client from now on – if confirmed – and that client will be the United States." At the hearing on his nomination, the Armed Services Committee accepted in trustful silence his formal promise (in a letter to Chairman Russell) to "withdraw from the private practice of law"; to "withdraw from the business ventures I am now participating in"; and to "sell all securities in companies doing business with the Department of Defense." A list of "certain securities" that he proposed to keep "with the consent of the committee" was withheld from the public record. Not one question was asked of Clifford about them, or about the securities he was selling, or about the "business ventures" he was abandoning. There was not the slightest hint of concern that the interests of Lawyer Clifford's former clients might conflict with the interests of Secretary Clifford's "one client," the United States.

This was in benevolent contrast with the tumult that attended the nomination of two of Clifford's predecessors, Charles E. Wilson of General Motors in 1953 and Robert McNamara of the Ford Motor Company in 1961. Committee members made a circus of forcing Wilson to sell his General Motors stock and harried McNamara, who had voluntarily relinquished his rights to Ford stock, with barbed questions about how the trusteeship which he had set up would invest and manage his money. In the official mind and, judging from the current lack of editorial criticism, in the journalistic mind as well, there is a difference between a nominee who has served a single corporation and a nominee who has served the Washington purposes of many corporations.

The press attributed the committee's warm reception of Clifford in some part to its belief that he will be easier to get along with than Secretary McNamara has been. Certainly Clifford has a smooth and ingratiating way that McNamara never stooped to acquire or manifest. But the masters of what Clifford euphemistically calls "the practice of law in Washington" have to be tough – if for no other reason than to cool off excessively larcenous clients – and Clifford is acknowledged to be the master of them all. He buttered up various senators at his confirmation hearing with assurances that the military chiefs will be free to speak their true minds to Congress; that he admires the Central Intelligence Agency as much as Senator Russell does; that he will listen with sympathy to arguments for a new bomber and for more nuclear-powered ships. But several of his remarks indicated that he views the office of Secretary of Defense, and its relationship with the military chiefs and with the President, precisely as McNamara has viewed it. Once a policy decision has been made, after due consultation with the military chiefs, "I expect they would comply with that decision." He and he alone would decide whether the presence of the service chiefs at White House conferences "would be valuable." And: "I believe that the President looks to the Secretary of Defense as the one man with whom he is in contact with reference to that department."

Clifford on this same occasion did his "one client" a service that – the transcript indicates when read whole – he did not expect to render. In answering questions that he obviously would as soon have been spared, he substantially clarified and amended the Administration's basic condition for halting the bombing of North Vietnam and exposed for the phony it has always been President Johnson's seeming pledge to withdraw American military forces from South Vietnam "not later than six months" after the war is officially deemed to be over. Clifford said, in effect, that the pledge is no pledge at all: "protective language" in the 1966 Manila communiqué containing it enables the President to keep American forces in Vietnam as long as he thinks necessary. Since Clifford was with the President in Manila and reportedly drafted the "protective language," he should know.

Clifford made a kind of sense about the conditions for a bomb halt that President Johnson had signally failed to make in his letter of February 1967 to Ho Chi Minh, in his two formulations of his "San Antonio formula," and in numerous informal remarks. The impression conveyed by all of these statements has been as Mr. Johnson put it on December 19: ". . . If you want us to stop our bombing, you have to ask them to stop their bombing [*sic*], stop their hand grenades, stop their mortars" – in short, *stop*. Clifford indicated that what Mr. Johnson has meant all along is only that the Hanoi government, in return for a bomb halt, promise not to do any more than it has been doing in South Vietnam. After an agreed halt of the bombing, Clifford said, "their military activity will continue in South Vietnam, I assume, until there is a cease-fire agreed upon. I assume that they will continue to transport the normal amount of goods, munitions and men to South Vietnam. I assume that we will continue to maintain our forces."

After four days for thought, the White House and State Department declared the Clifford language to be official policy. The anonymous spokesmen who assist the President in obfuscation insisted that Clifford had merely stated known policy and that what he said would be news to Hanoi. It was news to the American public.

JOHN OSBORNE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Post-McNamara: A New Pentagon Strategy?

On the heels of Clark M. Clifford's appointment as Defense Secretary, Washington was treated to a report that McNamara's nuclear war strategy had been discarded for something like the old "massive retaliation" of John Foster Dulles. According to *The Washington Post's* Pentagon correspondent, "The United States, in a fundamental shift of strategy, has decided to aim its new missiles at Soviet cities rather than military bases in the event of war." The reason given for the alleged shift was that new multiple warheads planned for American strategic missiles are accurate enough to destroy cities, but not the underground concrete silos in which the Russians are installing their missiles. An emphatic denial of the "facts . . . assumptions . . . and conclusions" of the story was promptly put out by the Pentagon, which said: "The strategy options for general nuclear war have not changed since 1962. The policies upon which the options would be selected in time of war have not been changed. No change is under consideration." The Pentagon is right, in a way that requires explaining.

From the Dulles era onward there has never been any question that nuclear deterrence rests on the ability of either side to "inflict unacceptable damage" on the other. The fundamental task of nuclear planners, therefore, has been to provide striking forces which can survive an enemy attack in sufficient number to destroy the attacker's cities and industry. McNamara called these forces the "assured destruction capability." In 1962, he introduced the "counterforce option" as a refinement of this fundamental requirement, not as a substitute for it. The counterforce or "damage limiting" option assumes that if Russia, say, attacks the US, it will not use all its missiles in the first strike, just as a poker player does not push all his chips into the pot on the first round of betting. If some of the surviving enemy missiles and bombers can be destroyed before they are used, subsequent damage to the United States would be reduced, and lives saved. The President would have the choice of withholding a blow against Russia's cities, at least temporarily. Preparing for this kind of graduated application of force might persuade the enemy to spare at least some American cities in the first round.

Of course, to exercise the counterforce option, the President must have more survivable nuclear weapons available for delivery than he would need for "assured destruction" alone. At present, he has. By latest count, the US has 1,000 Minuteman missiles and 54 Titan II missiles in underground silos; 656 missile launchers on Polaris submarines, of which about 400 are routinely at sea; and about 600 strategic bombers, 40 percent of which are always on alert – one was lost recently off Greenland. The alert forces alone include more than 2,200 weapons. Each has an average destructive power of more than one megaton (one million tons of TNT). That means each one is 50 times more destructive than the atom bomb that was dropped on Hiroshima. By Pentagon calculation, only 400 one-megaton weapons are needed to destroy over 70 million Russians and one-half of Soviet industry. The Soviets have about one-third as many deliverable warheads – still sufficient, in the nuclear calculus, to survive a US first strike, kill 100 million Americans and destroy a large percentage of our industry, but not enough to destroy more than a few hundred US weapons in a first strike.

But the ratio of this mutual deterrence has been challenged by the Russians, who no doubt feel they must be able to claim at least parity with the United States in the numbers game. Thus the Soviet anti-missile system raises the US cost for "assured destruction," and the rapid increase in the number of moderately hardened Soviet missile silos raises the US cost for "damage limitation" or "counterforce" strikes. If not countered, the buildup in Soviet offensive missiles could also make it possible, some day, for the Russians to take out a high percentage of the US land-based force in a first strike. The US choice to counter both Russian efforts is the Multiple, Individually Targeted Re-Entry Vehicle (MIRV) system, also known as the "space bus." It provides each missile with up to 10 separate warheads, each about 50 kilotons (that is, each is equivalent to 50,000 tons of TNT), which can be dropped on 10 individual targets, or in clusters of three or four, or all placed together on a single target. MIRV will go on Poseidon missiles in Polaris submarines, and on Minuteman III missiles when they are deployed as replacements for Minuteman I missiles in the next two years. Compared to existing Polaris and Minuteman missile warheads, MIRV will have greater accuracy. It will have a much better chance of getting through a Soviet anti-missile system. Its low-yield warheads are more economically suited to the destruction of the many small Russian cities than the large weapons currently on US missiles. McNamara dryly observed in his San Francisco speech last September that there is no point in "overdestroying" a target. Physicist Ralph E. Lapp has calculated that it would require only 45 missiles with multiple warheads to strike 200 targets in the Soviet Union. These missiles, he says, would carry a total yield of only 21 megatons. The Pentagon adds that as a counterforce weapon, MIRV will also have a greater kill

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

probability against missile silos than existing high-yield single warheads, because one "space bus" will be able to take out more than one silo, while two or more less accurate single-warhead missiles are now required to do that with any degree of certainty. Lapp says the selectivity of the multiple-warhead system "makes nonsense of the megaton gap" which the big weapons lobby is trying to build into a campaign issue.

MIRV is probably not the most potent counterforce weapon which the US has developed. Apparently the Mark 17 warhead program, which was canceled in January, was intended to produce a super-accurate, high-yield warhead for destruction of very well protected targets. But MIRV is considered accurate enough, given the current evolution of Soviet forces. The missile which the Soviets are turning out in quantity, the SS-11, is considered relatively poor quality, inaccurate and with a relatively small warhead – perhaps less than a megaton. It is protected, but not very well. To destroy it, one needs not super-accuracy and a large payload, but numbers. The alternative to MIRV is lots more missiles. But the real alternative to all this nonsense is to have US-Soviet agreement on limiting the "vertical proliferation" of their nuclear arms race.

Andrew Hamilton

AFRICA'S LARGEST NATION AT WAR WITH ITSELF

Massacre in Nigeria

Nigeria, which has a population of 63 million and a per capita income of $50, is currently spending nearly $3 million a day to kill a daily average of 1,000 Nigerians in the civil war. So far, says a French Embassy report, a quarter of the country's infrastructure has been destroyed. The daily death toll beats Vietnam's.

Most victims are civilians of the secessionist state of Biafra, particularly Ibo tribesmen, who constitute 9 million of Biafra's 14 million. They are being massacred by the invading Northern soldiery. Senegal's quiet-spoken President Léopold Sédar Senghor – who opposed Biafran secession – has called General Yakubu Gowon's policy "genocide."

But Nigeria attracts less concern than less lethal African conflicts like the Boer War or the rape of Ethiopia because whites are almost not involved. Yet what is at stake is Africa's largest consumer market (just as it was about to become modestly rich on oil royalties) and the question of whether Africans can solve inter-tribal disputes without setting the continent on fire.

Frontiers are meant to keep out enemies. Colonial African frontiers, which made 50 territories out of 2,000 principalities, often caged enemies together. Gowon accepts this fact. In the North, he wants each major emir to have his own federated state. He wants two new states created for the five million non-Ibo Biafrans. But he does not expect Ibos to occupy federal offices in the federal Nigerian capital of Lagos again, or Northerners and Yorubas to settle again in Ibo country.

In other words, at the present rate of killing, by the end of May a quarter-million human beings will have died to settle a rather subtle point – the degree of constitutional separation between Ibos (plus possibly other Biafrans) and the rest of the former Nigerian federation. Whoever wins – even nobody – the legislators and administrators, the forces of law and order, the judges, the teachers and the non-European traders in Ibo country will be all-Biafran.

Four steps led up to the present conflict:

The 1964 electoral alliance between the Northern Peoples Congress (the Muslim emirs' machine) and dissident Yoruba members of the monotribal Action Group (the NPC's main enemy) forced the Action Group's "loyal" core into federal-opposition coalition with the National Council of Nigerian Citizens – an Ibo-led party which had infuriated traditional Yoruba leaders by its inroads on the Yoruba vote. The NPC won the North (over half Nigeria's population); the NCNC won the East and the Midwest; the AG dissidents won the West by overt cheating, and shared federal power with the NPC. This created Ibo discontent. In January '66 an abortive coup led by four Ibo majors involved several political and military assassinations. The terrified rump of the federal government handed power to General Johnson Aguiyi Ironsi, an Ibo soldier (whom his subordinate fellow-tribesmen had tried to kill in the coup).

Ironsi's attempt to clamp down on tribalism by abolishing the federation and reinstituting unitary government led to his assassination in the coup of July 1966, and to seizure of power by a junta of Northern offi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cers. Northern troops occupied Western Nigeria, including Lagos.

With some Yoruba support, they installed an administration under a compromise figurehead, General Gowon (a non-Muslim Northerner belonging to none of the North's three great power tribes). A pogrom against Easterners, particularly Ibos, followed: two-million refugees returned to the East, three-quarters of them from the North. (The point seems to have gone unrecorded, but this reduced the North's share of the population from 52 percent to 49; if the federation survives, this would have reapportionmental significance. But the failure of Ironsi's attempt to reimpose unitarism probably marked the end of Nigeria as a single nation.)

Suspicion-threaded negotiations, between officers who represented not only the four states and Lagos but also the principal tribes of these five areas, broke down on Gowon's opposition to a confederal constitution (sought by the East) and his insistence that the state borders be revised – without the required referendum – increasing the number of states from four to twelve. The new borders were to bar the Ibos from the sea, by depriving them of Port Harcourt, Nigeria's second harbor and the Ibo's most modern city.

By the time Biafra declared its independence in May last year, it had enjoyed de facto independence – or isolation – for 10 months. Since then, Gowon's predominantly Northern troops, armed with new British guns and supported by Soviet and Czech aircraft flown by Egyptian and South African "mercenaries," have occupied some non-Ibo fringes of Biafra and a small bridgehead in Ibo country. Biafran forces, armed by France, Portugal and Communist China, supported by French aircraft, and with French pilots and commandos, have put up stiff resistance – mostly "genuine," but partly because it is safer to fight than be "liberated." Both armies' efforts are handicapped by the fact that 70 percent of Nigerian officers (major and above) were killed in the events of 1966.

Both adversaries still recognize the need to preserve the Nigerian common currency, common market and federal air, rail, sea and telegraphic services. Despite the astonishing mish-mash of French helicopters and fighter bombers, Chinese grenades, British guns, Czech and Soviet aircraft, plus "mercs" from South Africa, Egypt, France and Portugal, neither side seems actively interested in the cold war, Marxist theory, capitalism, democracy or scientific socialism.

The US has tried to stay aloof. Apparently, the only important country willing to burn its fingers, Congo-style, is France, which avoided involvement in the Congo's own bloodier days. Kremlin aid, though important, has been discreet. The Organization of African Unity has appointed a "peace team" which has hardly functioned. The United Nations has energetically looked away.

If this looks, at first glance, like a war between the backward, proud Muslim North and the "wandering Jews" of Nigeria, the assertive, sophisticated Ibo, so it is; but there is a dummy hand in the game – the Yoruba – along with a joker in the pack, Chief Obafemi Awolowo.

Sole survivor of the "fat-cat politician" days (through being in prison during the '64 elections and the coups), Awolowo is currently Gowon's chief civilian figurehead. Before that – and before jail – he was Kwame Nkrumah's mouthpiece in Nigeria. Before that, aided by a Madison Avenue agency (Patrick Dolan) he was The West's Best Friend In Africa. This irrepressible turncoat wants to be the North's and South's compromise premier. Alternatively, he might replace his old worst Ibo enemy, Nnamdi Azikiwe, as non-executive (Indian-style) president. Or he could hope to be president of an independent "Yoruba" – Western Nigeria, including Lagos.

With no immediate threat, despite Kremlin aid, of a communist takeover, and with Biafra's secession having no Katanga-style "neo-colonial" overtones, the lethal feud will probably be left to the Nigerians, and foreign presence limited to individual mercenaries who have no connection with, or interest in, their home countries' policies. A cease-fire seems unlikely without arbitration; no one (except the Vatican) wants to arbitrate (and the Vatican is unable to appear unbiased, most of the Ibo leadership being Catholic).

Without a cease-fire, staccato warfare can be expected to continue, limited or punctuated by lack of money, logistic errors, lethargy, swamps and forests and (from March onward) heavy rains.

A decisive success by the Northerners is possible, but a permanent occupation of Ibo country is probably beyond the means of Gowon's men. A Biafran breakout from the beseiged redoubt is also unlikely; but if Ojukwu's men reached Lagos (as they nearly did last August), "Yoruba" would almost certainly join the secession trend. This would practically force the Midwest to do the same, leaving the North to keep the name "Nigeria."

The United States, because of its own experience, traditionally tends to equate size with excellence. But clearly the factors against a successful Nigerian federation outweigh those that existed in the monolingual, monoreligious American colonies at the end of the 18th century. So far, the State Department has resisted the blandishments of the US Embassy in Lagos (solid for Gowon) and tried to avoid involvement. Ideally, cease-fire pressure should come from Africa itself. A UN referendum would help to enforce a peace. But

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Gowon knows that a referendum would show a solid Ibo vote for independence, and probably a pro-Biafran tendency throughout Biafra. (Few Biafrans want to see the oil bonanza poured into the bottomless bucket of the densely populated North.) So it is hard for any major power to pressure for a referendum without seeming to sabotage the "Nigerian Federal Government." But prolongation of the war's misery and impoverishment could be dangerous. Nigeria's fat cats have almost certainly had their day. The lean cats in the wings could be difficult cats to deal with: and one Black African in four, one Negro anywhere in five belongs to Africa's largest nation.

Russell Warren Howe

People as the Enemy

The Scorched Earth of Vietnam

by D. Gareth Porter

Despite the headlines given to fighting between US troops and Viet Cong and North Vietnamese main forces, most military strategists realize that these battles are not deciding very much. In the long run, the war can be won only by depriving the guerrillas of the resources they need to operate – food, shelter, intelligence and manpower. How is this to be done? By attacking rural population centers which have supported the Viet Cong and making them unlivable, through bombing, burning and crop destruction, while forcing the maximum number of people to move to government-controlled areas. As long ago as October 24, 1964, some military men, *Time* magazine noted, were advocating "population transfers and scorched earth zones to weed out the Viet Cong," but it called these "impractical schemes."

After the United States took over the management of the war in 1965, however, these schemes suddenly became more practical, and the triumph of the orthodox military commanders over counterinsurgency purists was complete. The number of US "strike sorties" per month in the South rose from 1,000 in January 1965 to 7,500 in July. In November, there were 12,000 sorties – more than in all of 1964. The rapid increase in strike sorties in 1965 was in part due to burgeoning air support for US combat troops, but it also reflected the beginning of systematic air attacks on NLF-controlled areas. On March 13, 1965, *The Washington Post* reported that US pilots were "given a square marked on a map and told to hit every hamlet within the areas."

The daily count of "enemy structures" destroyed or damaged by US planes (as many as 11,000 in one month) was one clue in 1965 to the number of peasant homes bombed. In Quangnai province, Neil Sheehan of *The New York Times* knew of at least 10 villages destroyed and at least 25 others which had been seriously damaged by American air attacks in the second half of 1965 alone.

The two immediate results of this bombing policy were a flood of refugees and massive civilian casualties. Within a few weeks of the unleashing of American airpower in Vietnam, US officials were admitting that "some" of the refugees from Viet Cong areas were actually escaping from US bombs and napalm. *Time* was a bit more candid; in June 1966, it noted that the presence of Viet Cong in a village brought "bombs from the omnipresent fleet of 1,000 US planes wheeling through the Vietnam skies" and that, as a result, "some 900,000 villagers have fled VC-controlled areas."

As for the casualties, the totals will never be accurately determined, since the US government never made any effort to do so. Congressman Zablocki of the House subcommittee on the Far East was given varying estimates of the ratio of civilians killed to Viet Cong soldiers killed in US attacks, ranging as high as eight to one. Special Forces officers assigned to help clean up after the bombing raids, estimated the

---

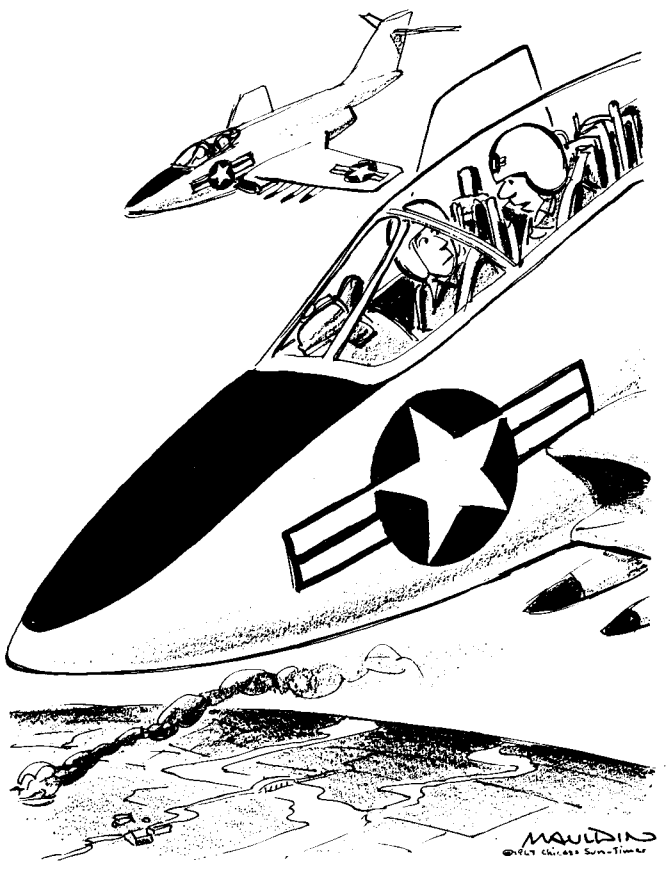
D. Gareth Porter *teaches political science at Manchester College (Indiana) and contributes to* The Viet-Nam Reader.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ratio at about 10 civilians to every one Viet Cong, according to *Newsweek*.

Aware that this was a cheap but perhaps controversial method of weakening the Viet Cong organization, the Defense Department quietly asked the Rand Corporation early in 1965 to study the advisability of using massive airpower on villages. The social scientists came to the curious conclusion, according to press accounts, that US bombing was already being exploited to the maximum by Viet Cong propagandists, so that an increase in the level of operations would not be likely to cause much more hostility toward Americans or the South Vietnamese government. Rand seems to have flashed the green light for a virtual scorched-earth policy in enemy zones.

While the strategy was already being carried out, the Administration ordered further investigations in the field. In the process of studying Viet Cong morale, 160 defectors and captives as well as 35 refugees were questioned about the effects of air strikes on Viet Cong relations with the villagers. While the validity of this sampling as a guide to peasant attitudes was questionable, to say the least, it was apparently good enough for Secretary Robert McNamara, who presented the results in a hearing before the Senate Armed Services Committee and an appropriations subcommittee early in 1966: On the basis of the interviews, the researchers could find no "deep-seated resentment or hatred of the GVN or the Americans" because of strikes on their villages.



"Try not to hit anything that looks like civilians or visiting editors."

The full report, completed late in 1965, constituted the clearest rationale for bombing villages ever made public. The forced resettlement of people was said to have had a serious impact on Viet Cong operations. A local Viet Cong military leader was quoted as saying that every person moving out of the area caused one Viet Cong soldier to die because of the decrease in rice production; often Viet Cong units went hungry because villages were deserted following air strikes. The report pictured the Vietnamese peasants preferring to move "where they will be safe from such attacks." The fact that many thousands of them were choosing to stay on their ancestral lands despite warnings to move out was ignored.

By late 1965 and early 1966, US officials were increasingly open in telling reporters that the US would begin to make headway in the war only by forcing the people on whom the guerrillas were dependent to move elsewhere, and sometimes their words found their way into print. A deputy assistant secretary of defense told one journalist that those who chose to stay in the enemy's areas would of course have to be considered part of the enemy as well. The Asian correspondent for the Washington *Evening Star*, Richard Critchfield, wrote in a Saigon dispatch on January 24, 1966: "One hears talk that the only way the Viet Cong fish can be deprived of the water in which they swim is to make things so hot in communist-held zones that the peasants will come over to the government side as refugees." A "qualified source" in Saigon had been quoted by *The Times* a few weeks earlier as saying the peasant, neutral during most of 1965, would "have to choose sides" and that US military operations would "force peasants to move to areas of governmental control."

More recently Michael Novak, writing in *Christianity and Crisis*, reported an American official's remark to him: "They [civilians in some sectors of Quangnai province] simply have to learn that if they place their bets on the losing side, they will pay the price. I don't have much sympathy for them." The head of the Office of Civilian Operations in Saigon, Wade Lathram, does not admit that there is an "overall policy of creating refugees," but he does concede that "in selected instances, it has been found desirable."

Occasionally, specific incidents reported in the American press have illuminated the American strategy, as did the bombing of Cantho in August 1967. Cantho was a village in which some Viet Cong troops had been reported by a paid informer, and whose inhabitants

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

had previously been warned that any Viet Cong presence would bring air strikes on them. The air strike was called by the province chief and duly carried out by US planes, killing 63 and wounding 83. Later, the bombing of Cantho was called "accidental," but was neither an accident nor a contravention of policy. There was some talk of giving warning by leaflet or loudspeaker, in keeping with General Westmoreland's September 1965 order, but the province adviser pointed out to reporters that, "if the villagers had been loyal to the government, they would have moved out of the area earlier." The Westmoreland order was not applicable, in other words, to chronically pro-Viet Cong villages. The people of Cantho had been judged disloyal and were no longer considered "civilians"; they were "hostiles."

It was not until 1967 that the scorched-earth policy reached maturity, combining bombing raids with large-scale population removal by ground troops. The kick-off for this new phase of the war seems to have been "Operation Cedar Falls," which undertook in January to force some 6,000 people from an area which the government had failed repeatedly to pacify and which was thus classified as "hostile." American military commanders believed, according to *The Times*, that they had to "render [NLF] population centers uninhabitable" in order to succeed in that region. And so after warning by leaflets and loudspeakers that anyone in the area would be considered a Viet Cong and shot on sight, all the villagers in American hands were evacuated, four villages were bulldozed out of existence, and the entire Iron Triangle, a traditional NLF stronghold of 40 square miles, was turned into a free strike zone.

But it has been estimated by a participant in the operation that as many as half of the inhabitants of the Triangle did *not* leave, because they did not hear the warning, did not wish to leave their ancestral lands or had relatives in the Front. Since US intelligence officers did not believe that there were more than 100 soldiers in the area during the operation, it is apparent that most of the many casualties listed as Viet Cong in the statistics were simply leftover inhabitants.

Before "Cedar Falls" had been completed, *Time* reported that the US command intended to "spend much of 1967 scorching the enemy's earth all over Vietnam." These operations were the ones which were showing concrete results, in contrast to massacres in the North and near the Cambodian border, the "search and destroy" operations and the still shaky pacification program. As David Halberstam has noted, the Viet Cong were hurt in the heavily populated Delta region, not by government patrols but by the "constant bombing and shelling of those villages not controlled by the government, so that finally life becomes unbearable." The peasants are left with the choice of sleeping in their rice paddies or seeking shelter in a government-controlled enclave.

The result of this strategy has been the dramatic reduction of population under Viet Cong control, and on this development has rested increasingly the official hopes for a victory in a tolerably short period. One of the President's most influential advisers on the war, Walt W. Rostow, in an interview with *Look* last October, made it clear that the US would win by pounding away at the population in Viet Cong territory. He was exultant about the fact that the percentage of the population under Viet Cong control had declined to "well under" 30 percent (it had been around 50 percent in 1964) and would at that rate of decline reach 20 percent by March 1968. By Rostow's calculations, the Viet Cong guerrillas will eventually be starved out.

Those responsible for pacification seem untroubled by the methods used to increase the size of the population under government control, so long as the computer spits out statistical good news. Robert Komer, the pacification director, admits openly that the increase is accounted for by refugees, but he skirts any implication that the refugees may be avoiding death by our bombs. In a letter to *The Washington Post* last November, he replied to reporter Ward Just's observations that refugees represented our only progress by asking, "Isn't it important that they fled to the GVN side and away from the VC? Whither did their hearts and minds lead them to flee?" So much for the "hearts and minds" of the Vietnamese peasants.

With the progressive dehumanization of the war, there are no moral barriers remaining to the conversion of all of South Vietnam outside government control into a free strike zone. Only practical limitations now exist; with the refugee administration of South Vietnam's government in a virtual state of collapse in 1967, the US command could not move as rapidly as it would have liked, and the tide of refugees was temporarily slowed. But as Rostow's remarks indicate, the plans call for increasing the pressure on rural Vietnam until insurgency is broken.

A few journalists, like Halberstam and Sheehan, have doubted whether a war is even worth winning when the refugee camp and the free-fire zone become the primary methods. No major political figure has yet objected to the barbarity of this scorched-earth strategy. (Senator Edward Kennedy has insisted only that more money be spent on refugees.) Despite the centrality of this policy in the war effort, the public discussion of the war still speaks of "accidental" civilian casualties and "incidental" destruction. The United States has apparently lost its capacity for moral judgment. The result is a war which is morally, if not physically, out of control.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Stanley Kauffmann on films

First and Second Looks

The second shot in *Poor Cow* is of the heroine's vagina – at least it is supposed to be hers. The first shot is of her face on the hospital delivery table as she takes a whiff of gas; the second is of the birth itself. Thus, in key with the title, her bovinity is immediately established. She is a creature destined to service males and bear offspring.

This birth shot is by no means a "first" in films. (One predecessor: Jean Gabin's natural-childbirth picture, *The Case of Dr. Laurent.*) Both this lack of novelty and this desire to shock with Truth typify the whole film. In one way *Poor Cow* resembles Marco Bellocchio's *China Is Near,* which I discussed last week: new techniques have been applied to traditional material. But Bellocchio's material triumphs over his method. Here the material is finally unrewarding, and we end up just watching the new techniques go somersaulting by.

Poor Cow (National General)
The Graduate (Embassy)

That material is our old friend, the naturalistic scrutiny of the life of the poor, as developed in continental literature during the 19th century and imported into England around 1900 by such writers as Somerset Maugham *(Liza of Lambeth)* and Arthur Morrison *(A Child of the Jago).* Joy is a working-class girl in postwar London who gets pregnant at 18 and is married to the child's father, a young thief. She treats his job simply as a job. When he is caught and jailed, she falls in love with another thief, Dave, who too is eventually caught and sentenced to 12 years. Lonely and bored with her pub job, Joy sleeps with various men. Her husband, whom she is divorcing, is released from prison and gets her to come back to him. She is unhappy with him. She really loves Dave, who has many years to serve. The film ends with Joy still fairly confident about her future, trying to get clear of her husband, hoping some day to be happy with Dave and in the interim to avoid prostitution.

The screenplay was written by Nell Dunn, who wrote the recently published novel on which it is based, and by Kenneth Loach, who directed the film. Loach is a young Englishman, fresh out of television and also, I guess, fresh out of every art-movie house in London. His style, applied to this old-fashioned material, is straight imitation Godard. Godard's influence seems to be the starting-point for many young directors around the world – in Italy, Bellocchio; in Poland, Jerzy Skolimowski *(Le Départ* and *Barrier);* in Germany, Alexander Kluge *(Yesterday Girl)* – but most of these directors manage to give the influence a touch of themselves. Loach apes: the ferociously elliptical cutting, the handheld camera, the "chapter" titles (originally out of Brecht), the shots "stolen" in the streets. The film even closes with a Godardian interview as Joy answers an unseen questioner. The last shot is that new cliché, already ancient, the freeze-frame.

We are told these days – and only in the world of film criticism would it be considered news – that the era of the plot is over, that dramatic narrative is giving way to "essay" or exploration. *Poor Cow* is of mixed breed: it makes some moves toward story in the early part, but the later part settles down mostly into exploration – of milieu and character – and that later part has considerable dullness in it because what it explores is generally trite. The milieu is by now very familiar, and there is little about this girl herself that isn't apparent quite early, when "story" is still in progress. When the story fades, so does interest. There are some good sequences, like the one in which Joy and another girl do some quasi-nude modeling for a lecherous camera club, and her love for her baby son runs through the dawdling film like a clear persistent stream. But in herself she is not rich enough – in range or depth – to sustain a film that depends on her richness, rather than on events.

At the base, then, of all the film's superficial modern vitality, is dull-wittedness: about the material and the method. The writers have not given us any new illumination of the forces that made Joy a cow, or even a new emotional use of familiar materials; and the director's style is so slavish that we can almost feel Loach perspiring in fear that he has left out one Godardian device. For Joy a new actress named Carol White has been found, presumably as competition for Julie Christie, which she is not, either in looks or personality. The only attractive performance is by Terence Stamp as Dave – gentle, affectionate, resigned. There is Technicolor. There are some songs by Donovan, and there are some old-fashioned songs. The former are supposed to be deft comment, because they are mod; the latter are supposed to comment satirically because they are corny. But *both* uses – by now – seem corny.

Doesn't the film split in half? This is the recurrent question in a number of letters about *The Graduate* – although almost all correspondents start by saying they enjoyed it! I have now seen it again and have read the novel by Charles Webb on which it is based, and some further comment seems in order.

I like what I liked in the film even more, but now, having read the original, I can see a paradox about its shortcomings. (Many of which were noted in my review.) Besides the fact that a great deal of Webb's good dialogue is used in the screenplay, the structure of the first two-thirds of his book – until Benjamin goes to Berkeley – is more or less the structure of the film. The longest scene in the picture – the one in which Benjamin tries to get his mistress to talk to him – is taken almost intact from the book. But Mike Nichols and his screenwriters rightly sensed that the last third of the book bogged down in a series of discussions, that Webb's device for Benjamin's finding the place of Elaine's

(Continued on page 37)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books and the Arts

Mrs. Woolf as Essayist

by Joseph Featherstone

Many readers know Virginia Woolf's essays only through the first and second series of *The Common Reader*, which appeared in 1925 and 1932 and have since been reprinted. Yet she was a voluminous essayist – she wrote reviews for the *Times Literary Supplement* before she became a novelist – and the collected essays in this new edition fill up four volumes. A new edition is welcome, since many of these pieces are unobtainable. This is, however, a scratch job of editing, since the book lacks an index, lacks dates for a number of the pieces and fails to include certain essays on one of her great interests – women's position in the world and in literature.

Collected Essays
by Virginia Woolf
(Harcourt, Brace & World;
four volumes, $5.95 each)

If it is hard to feel full gratitude, the edition does have its virtues. To begin with, the range is immense. Chances are that you have never heard of the Rev. James Woodforde, an obscure and charming 18th-century parson who happened to keep a diary. There is a wonderful small sketch of his life, and there are portraits of Donne, Goldsmith, Gibbon, Scott, Lewis Carroll, Conrad, Madame de Sévigné, Beau Brummell, Sara Coleridge, and many others. There are critical essays on Jane Austen and D. H. Lawrence, and Hemingway, notes on the modern novel and the modern essay; and many short meditations like "The Death of a Moth." In all this Virginia Woolf was a serious, if not always a deep critic. She wrote for Dr. Johnson's amateur, whose good plain sense was uncorrupted by literary prejudice and free of the "refinements of subtlety and the dogmatism of learning." She imagined the common reader as someone with an instinct to create for himself a whole out of his readings – a protrait of a man, a sketch of an age, a theory about writing. The whole was a deeply personal vision. The critic's job was to communicate the essence of a book or a man in such vivid terms that the reader could incorporate it into his outlook. If all this sounds doubly personal and subjective, so was her criticism. Many essays end deep in an exploration of the metaphors for her own responses. The common reader and the uncommonly eloquent and fanciful Mrs. Woolf occasionally wake to find themselves far from the original object of criticism.

What is consistent is her vision, the sense of the whole, her extraordinary consciousness of herself, her feelings, her voice, her time and place. She was, consciously, one of the last important literary figures to feel truly alive to the intellectual traditions of Victorian upper-middle-class culture. In many of her splendid essays on 19th-century writers – on George Meredith, for example – she was very much the ambassador of an earlier age at the court of the moderns, explaining why these figures were so important and pleading for the aspects of their art that deserved to endure.

Leslie Stephen's daughter grew up in a house steeped in history; she had a feeling for historical specificity, a consciousness of time that became one of her most distinctive critical virtues. She had the Victorian sense of the importance of era and social class, an outlook which the intellectuals among her ancestors shared with Karl Marx, another bourgeois of the classical age. Instinctively, and almost without being aware of what she was doing, she looked at the historical and social context of literature – in the far past, she noticed the raw physical world shared by "The Pastons and Chaucer," and in the present, speaking of contemporary writers, she always insisted on the point E. M. Forster once made when he said that money was the second most important thing in the world.

Besides her historical and social sense, she had two other qualities rare in criticism in any age. The first was an ability to talk usefully about second-rate literature: she loved literature enough to believe that a good scene in a bad novel or a beautiful stanza in a mediocre poem were matters worth discussing. She was also fond of resurrecting lesser shades from the past, although she spoke of the critical difficulties involved:

> "It seems so often scarcely worth while to go through the cherishing and humanizing process which is necessary to get in touch with a writer of the second class who may, after all, have little to give us. The earth is crusted over them; their features are obliterated, and perhaps it is not a head of the best period that we rub clean in the end, but only the chip of an old pot. The chief difficulty with the lesser writers, however, is not only the effort. It is that our standards have changed. The things that they like are not the things that we like; and as the charm of their writing depends much more upon taste than upon conviction, a change of manners is often quite enough to put us out of touch altogether."

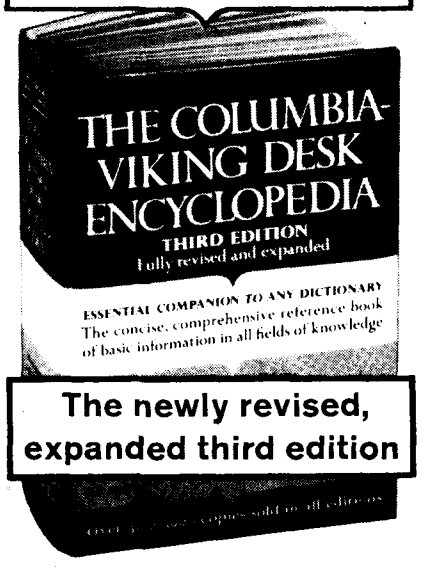
A second critical virtue was her sense that the novel as a form was, after all, comparatively young, that its possibilities were endless. She was a novelist with a distinctive view of the form, and yet as a critic she was wonderfully catholic:

> "We can imagine so many different sorts of novels, we are conscious of so many relations and susceptibilities the novelist has not expressed, that we break off in the middle with Emily Brontë or Tolstoy with-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

READY NOW!

The only desk-size encyclopedia of such authority and scope


THE COLUMBIA-VIKING DESK ENCYCLOPEDIA
THIRD EDITION
Fully revised and expanded
ESSENTIAL COMPANION TO ANY DICTIONARY
The concise, comprehensive reference book of basic information in all fields of knowledge

The newly revised, expanded third edition

Essential companion to any dictionary. *The Columbia-Viking Desk Encyclopedia* has been used in more than 3,000,000 homes, schools, and offices since 1953. With more than half the contents entirely new or revised, the third edition of the CVDE is the most important single-volume reference work of 1968!

Compiled and edited at Columbia University. Based on the famous *Columbia Encyclopedia*, this new volume contains not only the 1963 revisions of the parent volume, but much material gathered since then. While considerably longer than before, this new edition of the CVDE retains all the features of clarity, economy of wording, and convenience of handling that have made previous editions so popular.

Well-balanced coverage—contemporary emphasis. The CVDE includes what most people want to know about any subject—geography, history, science and technology, medicine, law, education, the social sciences, sports and entertainment, folklore, the arts, religion, language, etc. The thousands of biographies include those of 1109 living people.

When the first edition was published, *The New York Times* said: "Belongs in every library, no matter how modest or how vast." Today, with its improved coverage and updated information, the CVDE is even greater —to give, to own, to refer to constantly.

1216 pages; 33,111 entries; 57 pages of specially prepared maps, tables, and detailed drawings.

•

Regular edition $9.95. Thumb-indexed $10.95

THE VIKING PRESS
625 Madison Avenue, New York 10022

out any pretense that the phases of fiction are complete or that our desires as a reader have received full satisfaction. On the contrary, reading excites them; they well up and make us inarticulately aware of a dozen different novels that wait just below the horizon unwritten. Hence the futility at present of any theory of 'the future of fiction.' The next ten years will certainly upset it; the next century will blow it to the winds."

She stood at a particular intersection of tradition with modernity: the set of discreet and subtle compromises the word "Bloomsbury" evokes. She was bigger and more important than Bloomsbury – she was, as Eliot said, the center of all the literary life of London – but her criticism reflects the ideals usually associated with Bloomsbury. States of consciousness and awareness were the great goods in life, together with aesthetic experience and the pursuit of knowledge. She had retreated from the strident, moralizing traditions into a new, cooler aesthetic sensibility which nonetheless still worshipped at a few of the older shrines: Art and Life in capital letters were still real objects of reverence for her, even though Right and Wrong were not. Her distaste for moralism, and her dislike of emotional excess limited her as a critic. She did not know what to do about prophets, saints, and ecstasies. This is apparent in her troubled appreciations of Russian writers; she is penetrating on a writer like Turgenev, and dumbfounded by a crazy dervish like Dostoevsky. (Except for a brilliant essay on Montaigne, and her own considerable literary debt to Proust, she had very little to do with French literature.)

Bloomsbury's lights were often dim and fitful when it came to assessing contemporaries. Quite naturally, she had a close understanding of E. M. Forster, arguing persuasively that Aziz in *A Passage to India* is one of his few really full characters. She was able to give a witty and malicious appreciation of Hemingway: "Mr. Hemingway's writing, one might paraphrase, gives us now and then a real emotion, because he keeps absolute purity of line in his movements and lets the bull's horns (which are in truth, fact, reality) pass him close each time. But there is something faked, too, which turns bad and gives an unpleasant feeling." There is a fascinating essay on D. H. Lawrence, an uneasy blend of snobbery and puzzled admiration. She was dismayed at this man who never looked at the past and was not interested in "literature as literature." She wondered how he could echo nobody and be conscious of no tradition. (I think she was wrong here.) But she had to admit his power: "The thought plumps directly into mind; up spurt the sentences, as round, as hard, as direct as water thrown out in all directions by the impact of a stone. One feels that not a single word has been chosen for its beauty, or for its effect upon the architect of the sentence." Her most radical critical failures were the great experimenters of the period: she misunderstood Eliot, who was too obscure, and she thought *Ulysses* a memorable catastrophe, and spoke of Joyce's "indecency."

She was not a grand critic; but on her own ground she was a good one. And after you read a number of these essays, with their flourishes, their common voice, their humor, intelligence, modesty, and quaintness, you can even be persuaded that there is a cumulative greatness present. The greatness is in the manner and the style. Essays have their own perfection; the perfection of the silver craftsman, working small. As she once wrote, if anything is perfect, consistently perfect, then the size and dimension of its perfection seem immaterial. Once you have said all that you can say against them – that some of the historical pieces are the exercises of an antiquary, that her tastes are too refined for a Joyce, that the tone is inevitably nice and often merely charming – there still remains the fact that many of the essays in these four volumes are perfect. In "The Death of a Moth," or "The Moment: Summer's Night," or her evocations of Sterne and Jane Austen, she displays a transcendent workmanship. Above all there is the shining prose that makes it possible for this woman to discourse so intelligently on insignificant, as well as very important matters to an audience of common readers. The silver creations are often small but their surface can reflect a whole world.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Alive and Well in Washington

by Robert Yoakum

You can't be just a little crooked to get yourself censured by the United States Senate; you have to assault congressional sensibilities on a massive scale. Senator Thomas J. Dodd was the first senator in history to be condemned for financial misconduct – and only the seventh to be censured at all. Now, from his former administrative assistant, James P. Boyd, we have a detailed account of how corrupt Dodd was – and, therefore, of how much wrongdoing the Senate, the press, Connecticut Democrats, and constituents had not known or chose to ignore.

Above the Law
by James P. Boyd
(New American Library; $6.50)

Dodd is not typical, but his political career, which includes four years in the House (1953-1957) and nine years in the Senate (1959 to the present), illustrates nearly every method, legitimate and otherwise, that men have used to increase their power and income while in Congress. He is a walking textbook on malodorous practices – and known to be by most colleagues – but even after the 92 to 5 censure vote on June 23, 1967, Boyd says, this durable man believed:

> ". . . he might yet ride this thing out. He was still a senator with undiminished seniority and two and a half years to go on his second term. He still headed up, unabashedly, Senate investigations into crime and delinquency. He was still acting chairman of the subcommittee charged with probing subversion and 'security risks' in government. He remained a member in good standing of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee at a time of deepening national division over the Vietnam war. In his fortress on the Senate Judiciary Committee he continued to pass upon the qualifications of judicial nominees and to sit in judgment on the legislative requests of the Department of Justice, which was nonetheless supposed to be investigating him. The great corporations must still come to him for help. . . . And the Democratic politicians back in Connecticut [headed, as they are nationally, by John M. Bailey] were afraid to move against him. . . ."

A *New York Times* reporter covering the Dodd story once said that it was Dodd's hard luck to have had as an administrative assistant a man with a conscience and total recall. The senator's bad luck didn't end there. Boyd's book also reveals writing skill, humor, and an unreciprocated exercise of fairness. At the height of the censure debate – when most men in his position would have been blind with anger over swamp water attacks from the likes of Russell Long and Dodd, Boyd would halt and correct overheated companions if they inflated Dodd's crimes.

This detachment raises what would have been an interesting report on a dishonest senator into a thoughtful and literate account of a contemporary tragedy – a tragedy "not without its moral on public life in a free society." It has also given us some delightful scenes:

> "[Dodd's office] was the focus of his existence. . . . Comfortable, in a slightly elevated swivel chair, he would direct his activities on many fronts, hatch his projects, plan his investigations, receive his courtiers, and let soar his imagination. . . . All eyes and ears were bent in his direction. Anticipating his needs and fancies was with us a continuous preoccupation. By pressing the right button, he could have a want or a whim attended, produce a staff member or a boon companion, set in motion a furious march of events, or suspend all action or intrusion."

(The Senator had a plan for immortalizing his office by duplicating it in a cave-house, or "rath" in a hill at his North Stonington farm, and to this end he had the office photographed from all angles, scaled drawings made, and contents catalogued. The project was known in the office as "the rath of Dodd.")

After 5:30 p.m. the scene changes. Now enter the Senator's evening favorites, a handful of sycophants and lower-drawer political figures who helped Dodd get where he is today:

> "His court assembled, the Senator would direct Michael [O'Hare, bookkeeper and office manager, and one of the four defectors] to get out the Scotch, and for the next few hours Michael would serve as bartender. To admiring listeners the Senator, assured of unflagging sympathy, would unfold his problems, relate his triumphs, and vent his indignations. . . . They would nod in solemn agreement at his analyses of the folly of Administration foreign policy, frown as he exposed the perfidy of his rivals, and roar exaggeratedly at his latest jokes – which could be funny indeed, for Dodd was an accomplished mimic and raconteur."

Now and then, "surfeited with praise and bored with the blandness of his

Why Do You Read So Slowly?

A noted publisher in Chicago reports there is a simple technique of rapid reading which should enable you to double your reading speed and yet retain much more. Most people do not realize how much they could increase their pleasure and ability in their personal and professional life by reading faster and more accurately.

According to this publisher, many people, regardless of their present reading skill, can use this simple technique to improve their reading skill to a remarkable degree. Whether reading literature, business material, technical matter, it becomes possible to read sentences at a glance and entire pages in seconds with this method.

To acquaint the readers of this publication with the easy-to-follow rules for developing rapid reading skill, the company has printed full details of its interesting self-training method in a new booklet, "How to Read Faster and Retain More" mailed free to anyone who requests it. No obligation. Send your name, address, and zip code to: Reading, 835 Diversey Parkway, Dept. 535-012, Chicago, Ill. 60614. A postcard will do.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Remember That Foreign Language You Studied in School?

Of course you can—with

Quinto Lingo

the LEARN-a-LANGUAGE MAGAZINE

Now you can brush up on that language you studied in school, or perhaps pick up a new one through the fun QUINTO LINGO way to language skill. QUINTO LINGO is an interesting magazine presentation of the same material in side-by-side columns of French, German, Spanish, and English, plus features in Italian and Russian.

The short items, word games, features, and anecdotes with adjacent English translation, is just the pleasant contact you may need to "wake-up" your language ability. You learn by reading a bit each day, and the material in QUINTO LINGO is interesting in any language.

EACH MONTH, A FRESH STIMULANT TO YOUR LANGUAGE KNOW-HOW

With each issue your language ability and interest swells, as you strengthen your skills in a favorite language (and perhaps browse a few new ones). Each month brings fresh vocabulary and challenging uses to keep your interest piqued. You will be amazed at how readily your ability soars.

And no wonder, language authorities recognize the value of QUINTO LINGO's "short daily exposure" approach. As each month goes by you find yourself reading faster and faster, understanding more and more.

But QUINTO LINGO does more than increase your vocabulary. You see in features like "THE TRANSLATOR'S CAULDRON" why one usage is preferred to another. Other features rate language courses and teaching aids, review books on language learning, and point out new study ideas.

FREE BOOK WITH A NO-RISK TRIAL SUBSCRIPTION

If you subscribe to QUINTO LINGO now, we will send along an interesting book that is an ideal introduction to the QUINTO LINGO way to language success. In "CLASSIC STORIES," you find some of the world's most acclaimed short stories arranged in the same side-by-side style as the magazine. There are stories by Guy de Maupassant, Francois Voltaire, Lafcadio Hearn, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Hans Christian Andersen, The Brothers Grimm, and Pedro Antonio de Alarcon.

QUINTO LINGO regularly costs $5.00 per year. But this special introductory offer brings you a year of QUINTO LINGO at $3.95. You save $1.05 *and* receive a free copy of "CLASSIC STORIES." And you do not risk a cent, if QUINTO LINGO is not everything we say it is, just tell us and we'll refund your FULL amount or cancel your invoice. So you can't lose in this special offer. Subscribe today!

QUINTO LINGO Emmaus, Pa. 18049 RODALE PRESS, INC.

Enter my subscription to QUINTO LINGO at the introductory rate of 12 months for $3.95 and send my free copy of "CLASSIC STORIES."

☐ Remittance enclosed ☐ Bill me NR-1

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State ..... Zip Code .....

☐ I prefer your long-term double bonus offer for 24 months at $7.90, send me FREE "CLASSIC STORIES" *and* "LAUGH YOUR WAY TO LANGUAGE SUCCESS." Same no-risk guarantee.

troupe," Dodd would "mount a venomous attack that would banish the smiles from everyone's face."

> "'Why look at you, look at you [to a man who had boasted of his sexual conquests]. You're a wraith of a man – all head and no body. You're a little man, a musty, dusty, mushy, reedy, seedy, little man. You're a woodpecker of a man. . . .' His irritation thus relieved, he would restore the euphoria. . . . At the first signs of his returning humor, the grins would reappear and the deliberations would resume. . . . Through the half-opened door I could hear the thin one repeating. 'I still say, Tom, and I'll go on saying it – you were the greatest courtroom lawyer in the history of the department'."

Then there is Julius Klein, Chicago public relations man and registered agent for West German interests, whose private relations with Dodd were the sole subject of the first Ethics Committee public hearing. Klein was "short, thickset, with a German accent. I had read his letters, florid, self-serving, demanding, sometimes abusive, frequently inscribed with such marks of secrecy as 'Confidential,' and 'Please destroy this. I made NO copy.' [He] was surrounded by all the aura of the Joint Chiefs and the German high command. On the masthead of his stationery was a general's flag with two stars."

(Later we learn that Klein's public image was almost entirely the product of his own self-beset imagination, although he really did have two stars, which "came by political appointment in the Illinois National Guard, after loyal service as a contributor and leg man for the Republican Party." Klein's inflated war record helped elect him National Commander of the Jewish War Veterans, a 100,000-member group which had to ease Klein out when it was made public that he was employed by German industrialists "and, for $40,000 a year, was lobbying for the return of impounded war assets to their former owners, many of them ex-Nazis.")

There is Ed Sullivan, an old friend who managed Dodd's Hartford field office and much of his finances:

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"His blue eyes bespoke amiability; his florid complexion betrayed conviviality. Though a devout Catholic and solid family man, Ed saw no essential conflict between piety and political trimming. . . . Patronage, favors, franchises, and government largesse represented to him the essence of involvement in public affairs. Yet, there was about the man a certain gravelly grace that somehow raised him above the meanness of ward and precinct. I never heard him say an unkind word about anyone. For himself, he was neither ambitious nor predatory."

There is John Sonnett, head of Dodd's legal army, senior partner in Cahill, Gordon, Sonnett, Rheindel, and Ohl, of New York – the same giant law firm that represented the National Broadcasting Company in hearings on television violence before Dodd's Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee. Dodd got NBC off the hook at the hearings, and, to no one's great surprise, the Sonnett firm saved Dodd tens of thousands of dollars by representing him free, at first, then at cost, in the time of his travail.

"Sonnett was waiting, flanked by a large staff of young lawyers. I looked him over carefully. He was about sixty. Combative looking, puffy, perspiring, his collar open, he reminded me of H. L. Mencken's description of William Jennings Bryan at the Scopes trial. 'There was a vague unpleasant manginess about his appearance; he somehow seemed dirty, though a close glance showed him as carefully shaven as an actor and clad in immaculate linen'."

In his efforts to discredit the four ex-employees who testified at the hearings, Mr. Sonnett launched many never-to-be corrected innuendoes about their personal lives. Sonnett's lines of inquiry, which can be read in the printed hearings, would make good, raw, material for some of the new courses on ethics being taught in law schools.

Finally, there is Senator John Stennis, the Mississippi judge, who appears on the scene about three-fifths of the way through. Dodd called Stennis "the Swampfox" – a tribute, says Boyd, to "Stennis' shrewdness and elusiveness, his mastery of the brambly Senate environment and the arts of camouflage, his talent for swallowing up an adversary in a hundred hidden ways." He was "grave, authoritative, impatient with delay, oblivious of the cloakroom camaraderie of his colleagues. . . .

"But it was not alone for integrity, or judiciousness, or effectiveness that Stennis was chosen, above ninety-nine colleagues, to be chairman of the committee to investigate other senators. It was also because Stennis was an insider, a defender of the prerogatives of senators, a natural oligarch instinctively hostile to outside intrusions into the privacy of the Club. . . . The dirtiest linen would be washed in private, if at all. Any senator under attack would be treated as an ambassador from a sovereign state entitled to privileges and protections not available to ordinary subjects of Senate scrutiny. This is what the Senate wanted, and Stennis was prepared to furnish it."

Jack Anderson said it to Boyd this way:

"Stennis may not have any use for Dodd, but he loves the Senate. . . . And if he can help it, he's not going to let the Senate be dragged through the mud. He may decide to sacrifice Dodd for the good of the Club, or he may decide to cover up for Dodd for the same reason."

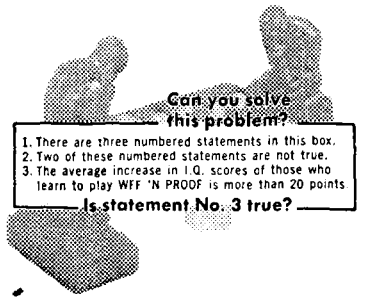
So, writes Boyd, "out of the multitude of possible charges against Dodd, he [Stennis] had singled out three that were peculiar to Dodd alone and as remote as possible from the Senate as a whole." Such a formula defeated every purpose for which the quartet had risked so much, so they wrote a two-thousand-word letter asking the committee to reopen the investigation. The letter was loaded with detailed charges, bearing names and sums of money in many cases, illustrating six broad areas that the committee hearings had neglected.

On the Committee, only Senator John Sherman Cooper was known to be pushing for new and full hearings. But, speaking for the majority, Senator McCarthy explained that "We did not raise any questions which we thought involved existing law," putting the committee in the astonishing position of saying, as Boyd put it, "that when a violation of ethics turned out to be so serious as to constitute a violation of law, the Senate must cease to pursue it." Other areas, such as "finder fees" and "legal reference fees," were not explored, said McCarthy, because the Senate had no rules on these matters. Boyd commented:

"The ethical morass in which the Senate as a body was submerged was starkly revealed here. Any Cabinet member or ordinary bureaucrat would be automatically dismissed in disgrace for engaging in such practices. . . . But what was outlawed in the Executive Branch and condemned by an eminent body of lawyers [the ABA] was not even to be investigated . . . when in-

A NEW DIMENSION IN EDUCATIONAL GAMES

GAMES for THINKERS


Can you solve this problem?
1. There are three numbered statements in this box.
2. Two of these numbered statements are not true.
3. The average increase in I.Q. scores of those who learn to play WFF 'N PROOF is more than 20 points
Is statement No. 3 true?

These unique kits have been specially designed by university professors for those who enjoy brain-to-brain combat.

PERFECT WFF 'N PROOF GIFTS

Box 71-RX New Haven, Conn.

Enclosed is $_____. Please send me:

__ WFF 'N PROOF The Game of Modern Logic $6.50_____
__ EQUATIONS: The Game of Creative Mathematics $3.50_____
__ ON-SETS: The Game of Set Theory $4.50_____
__ CONFIGURATIONS: Number Puzzles and Patterns $4.50_____
__ PROPAGANDA: Game $5.50_____
__ REAL-Numbers Game $1.75_____
__ WFF: Beginners Logic $1.50_____
__ TAC-TICKLE $1.25_____
Total $_____

(Prices include postage and handling)

Name .....
Address .....
City ..... State ..... Zip.....

Refund and return privileges guaranteed!
Dealer Inquiries Invited

FOR THOSE WHO ENJOY BRAIN-TO-BRAIN COMBAT

WFF'N PROOF WFF'N PROOF WFF'N PROOF WFF'N PROOF WFF'N PROOF WFF'N PROOF

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dulged in by a United States Senator.

"Even if McCarthy's premise were to be accepted, it missed the point. It was not the legal kickbacks, or finder fees, or lecture fees, per se, that we had asked to have examined. It was the fact that, in Dodd's case, the money was coming from the very sources which he had been directed by the Senate to investigate."

The rest of Boyd's observations on how the ethical policemen of the Senate reversed the roles of accuser and accused in order to keep themselves unsullied should be read by all students of government.

Then comes the final and best chapter in the book, in which Boyd looks back again at the earlier Dodd:

"My first reaction was to think of him as a hypocrite. Yet, underneath his delusions and self-pity, there was, I had to concede, a trace of honest bafflement at the chain of events that had brought him down. . . . I began to look at Tom Dodd with, I think, some of the understanding and sympathy I once possessed. . . . He was, in those years, a man of inexhaustible energies and interests, with a vast capacity for life, for sentiment, for fellowship, for caring."

What happened?

"When Tom Dodd turned to politics in Connecticut, he entered a milieu in which the run of men confidently expect public office to be an avenue of private enrichment."

Boyd describes this milieu, then takes Dodd on to the House of Representatives:

". . . He found that despite its stately veneer of mosaic floors, muraled walls, and high, painted ceilings, the ethical climate was merely an extension of what he had left behind in Connecticut. Covert trimming was a congressional institution, protected by a network of secrecy. . . . Dodd rose higher, to the Senate of the United States, where practices are more refined. One by one, he discovered its authorized duplicities. . . . The Senate appeared to Dodd not as a harsh and exacting judge, but as a permissive and protective accomplice. . . . And so Tom Dodd, a solitary, sanguinary man, hardened by the indignities of politics, disillusioned by its shabbiness, alienated by its brutality and its indifference to his survival . . . at some point began to betray his office for the tangible rewards that public service does not in itself bestow. As late as his third year in the Senate he had resisted temptation. But what he had encountered along the way of his long travail had fed his weaknesses, not his strengths, and, compromise by compromise, he had fallen."

Without writing another book – and I wish he would – Boyd can't go into all the reasons why Dodd is still there, but it's unfortunate that he didn't spend more time on Dodd the Anti-Communist Crusader, since that role has certainly helped preserve Dodd the Crook.

In May of 1967, just before the Senate showdown, Dodd went on television in Connecticut to explain how a foul conspiracy of Communists, Communist appeasers, and vengeful employees had done him in. A child of our town, wrote him the following letter:

"Dear Senator Dodd:

I feel on your side. It was not right for those men to take the papers and copy them. I hope very, very much that you win on the 20 second. With this letter I will enclose in this pocket below 25 cents for you to use for whatever you want."

The stuff works. And at the next level up, that of William F. Buckley, Jr., it is more potent, because sex has been added. Dodd, needing a public explanation of why four employees, three of whom were his closest and most valued staff members, deserted him and reported his unethical activities, made up a story about office sex. Buckley, almost alone, bought it. Buckley hasn't

THE
United States
AND
Canada By Gerald M. Craig

This, the first comprehensive study of Canadian-American relations in more than a decade, stresses Canada's separate development – from the days of the French and British struggle for North America, through the era of slowly evolving rapprochement with the United States, down to today's sharp internal tensions between English- and French-speaking Canadians. What emerges is a clear vision of those significant and distinct differences so often overlooked by Americans and an understanding of which is so necessary to continuing close cooperation.

$7.95 at your bookstore.

A volume in the American Foreign Policy Library

Coming in March: **Crane Brinton's THE AMERICANS AND THE FRENCH**

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

interviewed the four, and in about a dozen columns he hasn't chosen to deal with any of the serious charges made by them and by others, but he found it in his Christian soul on January 18 of this year to end a column in this fashion:

> "That is the final irony, considering that among Mr. Boyd's charges is that Mr. Dodd got rich at public expense. Mr. Dodd isn't even rich enough to sue the pants off Boyd, which leaves Mr. Boyd in the unaccustomed position of keeping his pants on."

A number of papers had the good taste, or enough fear of libel, to cut that paragraph, but other lines, in this and other columns, remain as a kind of ugly monument to those who obeyed the admonition to government workers (in the *Code of Ethics for Government Service*) to "expose corruption wherever discovered."

To make the point that Boyd didn't make, let's look at what would have happened had Boyd defected from Communism rather than corruption.

1. A charge by his party superior that sex was behind the defection would have been exposed by Buckley in a barrage of polysyllabic words as a patent phony.

2. Buckley would not only have lauded Boyd for his courage in sneaking out documentary proof of Communist deviltry, but he would have mourned any decision to leave any documents behind.

3. Finally, Buckley would have paid attention to the contents of the documents – something he hasn't yet done in public print.

Which gets us back where we began. Dodd is still there. And how *do* you get Congress, or the press, or the Democrats of Connecticut – to pay attention to the real charges, and then to the bigger issues of congressional honesty beneath it all? Boyd's last paragraph, written as Dodd saw things just after the censure vote, gives the probable answer: You don't.

> "Surely it appeared on that June morning that Tom Dodd's career was destroyed. And other, more menacing, investigations might lie ahead. But in a sense it would be

13 New Stanford Paperbacks

Who Is Man?

ABRAHAM J. HESCHEL. "A veritable gem. . . . A wealth and profundity of insight."—The Journal of Religion. "Learned, lucid . . . stimulating."—The New York Times. "A noteworthy contribution."—Friends Journal. Cloth, $3.95; paper, $1.65

The Revolutionary Internationals, 1864–1943

EDITED BY MILORAD M. DRACHKOVITCH. "Something of a tour de force. . . . It is a welcome addition to the growing literature on the history of Socialism and Communism."—The Annals. Cloth, $6.95; paper, $2.95

Four Stages of Greek Thought

JOHN H. FINLEY, JR. "Valuable for students of classics, comparative literature, drama, philosophy, and history."—Choice. "Fine writing that at times startles us with its appropriateness and eloquence."—The Classical World. Cloth, $3.95; paper, $1.95

Kafū the Scribbler

The Life and Writings of Nagai Kafū. EDWARD SEIDENSTICKER. "Introduces a major modern Japanese writer in a rounded, whole way. . . . The translations . . . are beautiful."—The Journal of Asian Studies. Illustrated. Cloth, $8.50; paper, $2.95

Desert Wildlife

EDMUND C. JAEGER. "So packed with intriguing information the reader is tempted to go straight through from cover to cover."—American Forests. "Extremely interesting reading."—Science. Illustrated. Cloth, $5.95; paper, $2.95

Rural Revolution in France

The Peasantry in the Twentieth Century. GORDON WRIGHT. "A well-written and important book."—The Annals. "A really valuable contribution to our knowledge of contemporary France."—Political Science Quarterly. Cloth, $6.75; paper, $2.95

Legal Fictions

LON L. FULLER. The first publication in book form of three classic articles first published in 1930–31, with the text revised, references updated, and a new Preface. Cloth, $4.50; paper, $1.65

A History of Argentine Political Thought

JOSÉ LUIS ROMERO. TRANSLATED BY THOMAS F. MCGANN. "Besides being authoritatively informative, the book is a pleasure to read from the standpoint of style."—The Catholic Historical Review. Cloth, $7.50; paper, $2.95

Talleyrand

DUFF COOPER. A reissue. "A biography so enthralling that it is impossible to put it down . . . marked by a complete absence of prejudice and an admirable sense of historical proportion."—The Spectator. Cloth, $8.50; paper, $2.95

A Daughter of Han

The Autobiography of a Chinese Working Woman. AS TOLD TO IDA PRUITT. A reissue. "Surely the warmest, most human document that has ever come out of China."—The American Journal of Sociology. Illustrated. Cloth, $7.50; paper, $2.95

Sun Yat-sen

His Life and Its Meaning. LYON SHARMAN. WITH A NEW FOREWORD BY LYMAN P. VAN SLYKE. A reissue. For over thirty years this book has remained the most important biography of the Chinese leader available in English. Cloth, $8.75; paper, $2.95

The Opium War Through Chinese Eyes

ARTHUR WALEY. "Mr. Waley has skilfully offered a lively account of the Opium War full of human interest in the most concrete, real and vivid terms."—The Journal of Asian Studies. Paper, $2.95

Soviet Policies in China, 1917–1924

ALLEN S. WHITING. "A solid and definitive piece of historical research."—The Far Eastern Quarterly. "The story is told with remarkable thoroughness and untypical brevity in Mr. Whiting's excellent book."—International Affairs. Cloth, $8.50; paper, $2.95

Stanford University Press

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

left to the people of Connecticut to decide his ultimate fate. And in this circumstance he saw a glimmer of hope. There had always been something almost mystical about his faith in his ability to explain things to the folks at home. He was, above all else, a campaigner. He would get back there on the old circuit, starting up around Mystic and Old Saybrook, in the church basements and lodge halls and on the picnic grounds, out where he could talk to people, where he knew all the shortcuts and catwalks, and where, at night, the fog rolls in along the shore. There they would see it all differently."

Name_____
Address_____
City_____
State_____ Zip_____

BOOKS FROM PEKING AND HANOI in English

MAO TSE-TUNG:
___Talks at Yenan Forum .50
___Quotations (the famous little red book) .60
___On Peoples' War (a new little red book) .40
___Selected Readings 2.50
___Selected Milit. Writings 2.75
___Selected Works, 4 vols. 10.00
___Poems 3.00
___Ten More Poems 1.25
___**PEKING REVIEW,** 52 weeks, air 4.00
___HO-CHI-MINH'S PRISON DIARY .75
___VIETNAM: FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS 1.00
___VIETNAM: FAILURE OF "SPECIAL WAR" 1.00
___**VIETNAM COURIER,** 26 weeks 5.00
___VIETNAM (Illustr.), 12 months 5.00

Indicate quantity desired at left of title & send payment with order to
CHINA BOOKS & PERIODICALS
U.S. Gov't. Licensed Importer & Distributor
2929-24th St. San Francisco 94110
(In California, add 5% sales tax on books)
FREE CATALOGUE ON REQUEST
NR

Alliance without Progress

by Joseph Page

At the end of the first five years of the Alliance for Progress, a view of Latin America reveals a general slowdown in the rate of per capita economic growth, a widening of the gap between rich and poor, and a deterioration of the democratic process as a result of military coups. Obstacles to development have remained remarkably intact. One still finds lagging agricultural production and inequitable land distribution in the countryside; a high rate of population growth and an increasing concentration of urban poor; inflation and inadequate domestic savings; and unrepresentative political systems overly responsive to the military and the wealthy classes. Yet the bloody upheavals which many Americans had once predicted would flow from the absence of immediate, drastic and effective reform have failed to materialize.

The Twilight Struggle: The Alliance for Progress and the Politics of Development in Latin America
by William D. Rogers
(Random House; $6.95)

All this would seem to suggest the need for some basic rethinking about Latin America. The unavoidable question is whether the Alliance for Progress as constituted at present is accomplishing what it set out to do. If the Alliance is a failure, then is there a better way to utilize American resources, both human and financial, to help the Latin nations achieve economic and social justice within a democratic framework? Indeed, any assessment along these lines should not shrink from the possibility that Latin America may be beyond hope, in the sense that even the maximum amount of aid which the US Congress might be willing to furnish cannot retrieve the continent from the depths of its backwardness.

In *The Twilight Struggle*, William D. Rogers maintains that the concept of the Alliance for Progress is still sound, and argues that even more American money should be committed to it. The book has an introduction by Senator Robert F. Kennedy, not surprising since Rogers' position is in basic agreement with Kennedy's widely publicized Senate speech two years ago. (An elaboration of that speech appears as a chapter in the Senator's book, *To Seek A Newer World.*)

The notion that the Alliance and its original goals merit reaffirmation and renewal rather than searching reappraisal looks good only in comparison with the cut in priority and stress on stability most observers expect will become this year's US policy toward Latin America. Such optimism soars above the depressing realities which continue to plague the continent. It clings to a rhetoric of revolution belied by events, since policy is where you put your men and your money.

Rogers' credentials as an expert on the Alliance for Progress are not lacking. He served as Special Counsel to the US Coordinator for the Alliance, Deputy US Coordinator for the Alliance and Deputy Assistant Administrator of the Agency for International Development (AID). He is familiar with the internal barriers to progress in Latin America, and these he faithfully records. Yet in describing the impact of the Alliance, his tone is more like that of a government spokesman selling a program to a congressional appropriations committee – a role he filled in 1964 and 1965 – than that of a keen and dispassionate observer.

For example, he makes much of relatively modest achievements, such as the Chilean land reform and Peru's new community development program. But he applies a light gloss to the gloomier aspects of the picture like the perennially worsening housing shortage throughout the continent. He suggests that the cessation of US aid to Peru when the Peruvian Army nullified a presidential election in 1962 helped force the military to hold subsequent elections and return the government to civilian rule. Far from a triumph for US diplomacy, the aid suspension was in fact a farce. The Peruvian generals wanted only to make the point that they would not tolerate

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What is Psychology Today?

At last! A magazine that bridges the information gap between responsible psychology and the educated public!

Today all of us—the executive, the salesman, the housewife, the teacher, the clergyman, and the teen-ager consistently (and often knowingly) use this thing we call psychology.

However, many of the solemn scientific truths you learned about psychology only yesterday in college are sheer myths today. In the information explosion, no field is moving faster than psychology. New and exciting discoveries which affect you deeply and personally are yielding themselves up on an almost daily basis.

Before the appearance of **Psychology Today** magazine, these new findings were not available in a lively, accurate monthly magazine. All that is changed. Now there is a magazine about psychology, with articles written by world-renowned experts in psychology, religion, education, child development, philosophy—the total human condition. Current and coming articles include:

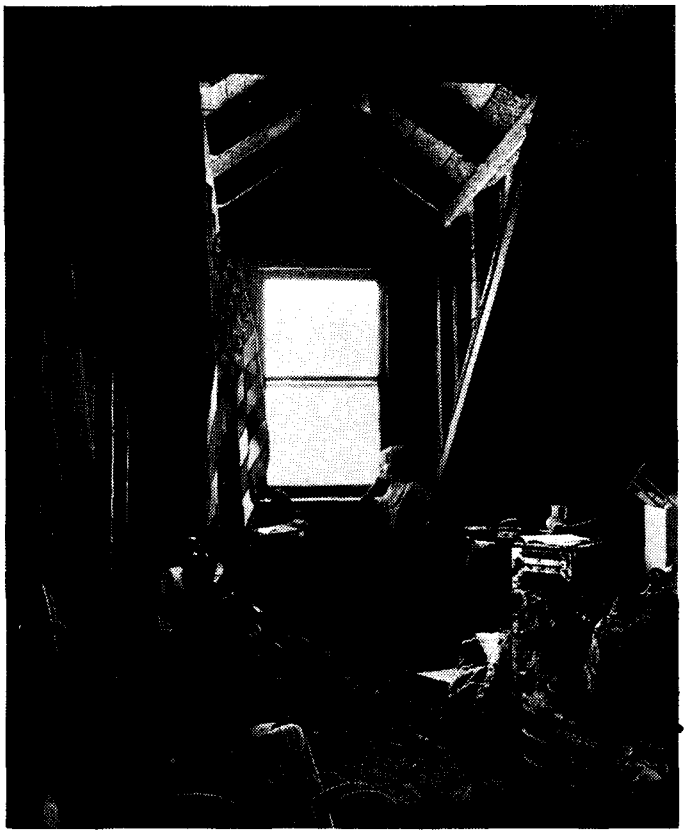
Is Graphology Valid?	**The Psychology of Power**
Explosion in the Ghetto	**Understanding Children's Art**
Religious Hangups	**Morality in Psychotherapy**
Student Activists	**Drugs—The Quiet Revolution**
Love and Death	**A New Look at Menopause**
Russian Psychology	**Group Therapy—Is It All Talk?**
Adult Play Therapy	**The Career Woman's Dilemma**
Hypnosis	**The Motives of a Soldier**
The Sexual Personality	**Self-Stimulation of the Brain**
The Pre-Logical Child	**Why Babies Smile or Cry**
Stuttering	**Psychology of Police Confessions**
ESP	**Psychology of the Reverse Sell**
The Taming of a Wolf	**Stimulating Executive Creativity**

No facts are beyond our pale. We talk about sex clinically and, when necessary, carnally. About children we are neither doting nor derisive. And with religion, we treat both the blasphemous and the beatific with objectivity. Lucidity is the watchword. You'll find no jargon in **Psychology Today.** No circumlocution, no pomposity. Our editors are as ruthless with their blue pencils as they are sensitive to your threshold of ennui.

Moreover, we think you'll like our contemporary design—full of style, boldness, and a touch of whimsy. Our pages are awash with full color photographs, and even our charts are fascinating.

Send no money

To receive your complimentary copy of **Psychology Today** don't send us a cent. Just fill out the coupon below, mail it to us, and we'll send you your free issue posthaste. If the magazine doesn't fascinate you—and yield you valuable



insights—cancel and consider the matter closed. Otherwise you'll receive the next 11 issues and a bill for only $6.00. The regular yearly subscription rate, not so incidentally, is half again as much—$9.00.

By subscribing now, you're not only making enormous savings over the newsstand price ($1 per copy) but you're also taking advantage of a special subscription price that may be withdrawn at any time.

Receive the current issue as a gift and begin a better understanding of your children, your spouse, your boss, your mother-in-law ...yourself.

psychology today

PSYCHOLOGY TODAY, 1330 Camino Del Mar, Del Mar, California

Please send me my complimentary current issue of PSYCHOLOGY TODAY. I may keep my sample copy and owe nothing. However, unless I cancel, you may enroll me as a trial subscriber and send me the next 11 issues. Bill me after my subscription has started for just $6.00, my special Charter Subscriber rate—instead of the regular $9 annual price. 089

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Teachers

If you are a teacher of government, literature, international relations, history or economics, we invite you to consider using *The New Republic* in your classroom. As in years past, we offer you the opportunity of ordering this magazine at a special classroom rate for bulk orders of 10 or more. Each student's copy costs only 15 cents weekly if 10 or more are mailed to a single address. *Free desk copies are included for each instructor.* Copies are mailed from Washington, D. C., on Fridays, three days before *The New Republic* appears on any newsstand, so that your students are assured of receiving the magazine while the news and reviews are fresh and exciting.

Advance payment is not necessary. You need only notify us how many copies and how many issues you wish. Your bill will be sent later. Mail your order without delay to:

CLASSROOM DEPARTMENT
THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

as President Haya de la Torre, the apparent victor in the 1962 contest. Their pious promise to hold "free" elections in 1963 brought about a quick restoration of aid, and a candidate more to their liking eventually won. Since the Peruvian experience, US aid has not been cut off, but has generally increased, after military coups.

Rogers' use of figures is at times annoying. He says that five years ago Latin America was spending $500 million to import food, whereas now 7 percent of its imports are foodstuffs. He talks about percentage increases in tax revenues, but fails to give the pitifully low dollar amounts collected.

His discussions of administrative problems within the Alliance machinery and of the difficulties in dealing with obtuse congressmen are good, yet these are essentially peripheral matters. Rogers devotes a good bit of attention to the economic integration of Latin America, the big noise emanating from last year's summit conference at Punta del Este. This is a long-range project, no doubt a salutary development if it works, but one suspects that the overenthusiasm it generates helps to obscure present failures. (It is also useful to keep in mind the tart comment of sociologist Stanislav Andreski that "the campaign in favor of the Common Market for Latin America is conducted chiefly by the prospective candidates for jobs in its administrative organs.")

US participation in the Alliance for Progress is, of course, more than that of a dispenser of funds and a hopeful observer. Rogers discusses, without ever really questioning, the various ways in which, within the framework of the Alliance, the US influences the internal affairs of the "sovereign" nations of Latin America. He mentions the active roles assumed by many US embassy officials. Indeed, it may not be inaccurate to refer to some American ambassadors as proconsuls. A point which Rogers might have pursued is that AID officials are often imbued with the same spirit of activism. Since many of them have little grasp of the local language, customs or problems, and serve a two-year tour of duty, their qualifications as "reformers" is suspect.

Rogers also cites the use of loans and grants in attempts to affect the results of elections. Because of occasional backfires, this practice has now been discontinued (probably until the next important election where there is little chance of a backfire). Rogers calls the political purposes of these loans and grants "moderately legitimate." In some circles the adjective "imperialistic" is deemed more appropriate.

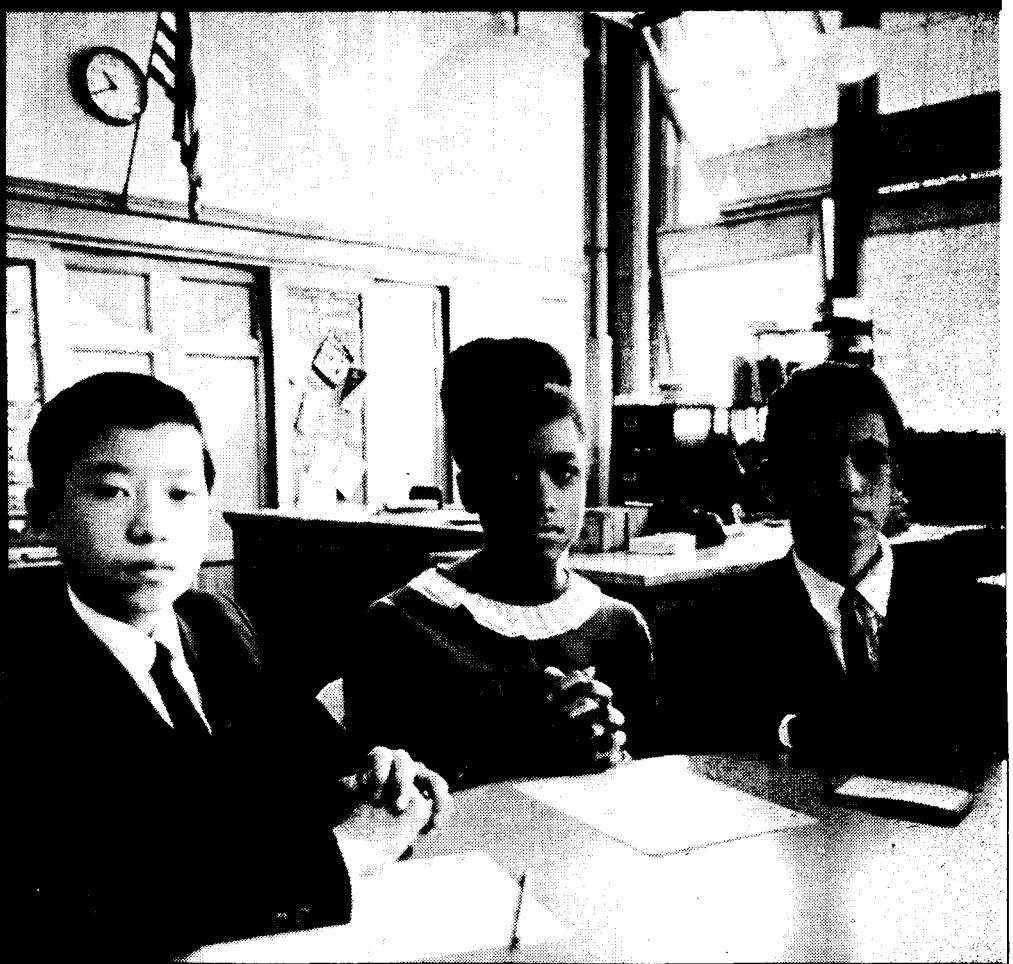
Rogers suggests that the Brazilian state governors who were receiving Alliance loans before the 1964 Brazilian coup were being rewarded for carrying on with "reform." This is sheer nonsense. These governors were all quite pro-American, conservative, and disinclined to make any meaningful changes within their states. The chief recipient, Governor Carlos Lacerda, was at the time the US embassy's candidate for president.

Rogers draws an apt analogy between the Alliance for Progress and the recent thrust of domestic politics in the US. "A broader acceptance of civil rights, and a massive attack on the pockets of domestic poverty find their parallels in the Alliance drive for development and social justice elsewhere in the hemisphere." Yet he fails to grasp the significance of this similarity. The civil rights movement, as such, is now dead and the War on Poverty has been quietly abandoned. The black man in America, with relatively free access to methods of airing his discontent, has rejected the evolutionary approach to economic, social and political equality. Suppression keeps his counterpart in Latin America from voicing frustrations. The War on Poverty failed in its effort to bring about change through the "maximum feasible participation" of the poor. The Alliance has been no more successful in transfering power to a broader base. More money does not guarantee a solution. The US has been spending annually about $2 per Latin American, and several hundreds of dollars per American Indian. The results speak for themselves.

AUTHORS OF BOOKS
Manuscripts invited for our consideration. All subjects. Fiction, non-fiction, poetry. New authors welcome. Complete book publishing services since 1920.
Send for free brochure H-52. ▶
DORRANCE & COMPANY, INC.
1809 Callowhill St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19130
to be published by DORRANCE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

found a peaceful way to fight in Vietnam. But they need your help.



Jones Wong, Janet Crawford and Robert Cirkiel are three of the leaders. But there are 2400 more like them at Olinville Junior High School in the Bronx. The youngest is 12. The oldest, 15. All of them are helping a Vietnamese child and his family in their fight against hunger and despair.

Last year, the student council at Olinville voted to share some of its good fortune with a Vietnamese child and family struggling to survive in a refugee camp. Through *Save The Children Federation* they're giving $15 a month to help the Nguyen Huans – a family of five with two sons, eight and four, and a daughter six.

The Huans lost everything in the war and for two years have been sharing a tiny room with another family. There is no privacy, no electricity, no running water, and one daily loaf of bread between them. The father works as a laborer for 50¢ a day. The mother spends her day collecting firewood for cooking and heat. And the eight-year-old son takes care of the two little ones.

The $15 each month provided by the children from Olinville Junior High has already had startling effects. It is providing the Huans with desperately needed clothes and food. With a small loan, the father has been able to start a small store in the family's half room. The money left over, together with money provided by other American sponsors, was borrowed by the refugee camp to help build a community market place and, most important, a school. The Huans are still a long way from winning the battles against hunger and poverty. But despair is giving way to hope.

Peace may one day come to Vietnam. But for hundreds of thousands the eventual solution won't help unless they get food and clothes right now, and a reason to believe that the future will be brighter. Your help is needed to give them a little boost to help them to begin helping themselves.

That's what *Save The Children* is all about. Although your contribution of $15 a month is tax-deductible, it's not charity. The aim is not merely to buy a child a warm coat, a few meals and a new pair of shoes. Instead your funds are used to give a child, his family and a village a chance to permanently increase their income. And hopefully, permanently end their need for charity.

As a sponsor you can select a Vietnamese child. Or a child in Korea, Latin America, Africa or Greece. You will receive a photo of the child, regular reports on his progress, and if you wish, a chance to correspond with the child and his family. Teenagers from the Bronx are doing it. Can you, your family, or your group do the same?

We won't promise you that your $15 a month is going to save the world. Just a small piece of it. But, maybe th way to save the world, i enough of you out there.

Save The Children Fed registered with the U.S. State Department Advisory Com Voluntary Foreign Aid. Fina statements and annual rep available upon request.

Founded in 1932
National Sponsors (partial li Andy Griffith, Gene Kelly, Mr Paul Newman, Mrs. J. C. Penn Frank Sinatra, Mrs. Earl Warre

Save The Children Federation

NORWALK, CONNECTICUT 06852

I WISH TO CONTRIBUTE $180 ANNUALLY TO HELP A CHILD IN
☐ KOREA ☐ GREECE ☐ VIETNAM ☐ LATIN AMERICA ☐ AFRICA
☐ WHERE THE NEED IS GREATEST.

ENCLOSED IS MY FIRST PAYMENT
☐ $15.00 MONTHLY ☐ $45.00 QUARTERLY
☐ $90.00 SEMI-ANNUALLY ☐ $180.00 ANNUALLY

I CAN'T SPONSOR A CHILD. ENCLOSED IS A CONTRIBUTION OF
$_____. ☐ PLEASE SEND ME MORE INFORMATION.

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ STATE_____ ZIP_____

CONTRIBUTIONS ARE INCOME TAX DEDUCTIBLE NR 2/10/8

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Concealed Communications

by Norman J. Gallo

The recent capture of the USS Pueblo by North Korea points out in a dramatic fashion the immense importance the major nations attach to the mission of gathering communications intelligence. It also reveals the risk involved in such operations. Attempts to obtain and read coded or secret information are not new. They are as old as the written record kept by man.

The Codebreakers
by David Kahn
(Macmillan; $14.95)

From his earliest civilizations, man has had a strong desire to conceal his written thoughts in one form or another. This desire has been matched by an equally strong curiosity to know the meanings of any such cryptic written expressions wherever they have been encountered. Thus was born cryptography (the science of secret-writing) and cryptanalysis (the science of deciphering secret writing). Together, these two processes constitute the science of cryptology.

Cryptology has been associated with magic and the occult from its earliest beginnings. To this day an atmosphere of mystery envelops the practice of cryptology even though its present purpose is to conceal or decipher the meanings of diplomatic and military communications. The US agency concerned with this monumental task is the "greatest cryptologic organization in history – the National Security Agency. . . ."

David Kahn tells us:

> "The presidential directive that created the National Security Agency was and is classified as security information, and the veil thus thrown around the agency at its very birth has cloaked it to this day. NSA is even more still, more secret, and more grave than the CIA, whose basic functions are set forth in the 1947 law that created it. CIA officials have occasionally issued statements to the press and have more often leaked favorable publicity. NSA officials never have. The National Security Agency thus remains the most reticent and least known organ of the entire hush-hush American intelligence community."

Indeed we have come a long way from the time when Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson closed down the "Black Chamber" office which broke and read diplomatic codes sent by other nations with the comment that, "Gentlemen do not read each other's mail." Today, the National Security Agency which reportedly carries out the same activities had, according to Kahn, an approximate budget of $1 billion for the 1966 fiscal year or an expenditure of $15 a year for each family in the United States.

This staggering sum testifies to the US government's evaluation of the agency. What has it done to justify the spending of this amount of money? According to the two men, Martin and Mitchell, who defected from NSA in 1960 and turned up in Moscow, it had "solved the codes of more than 40 nations . . . Italy, France, Yugoslavia, the United Arab Republic, Indonesia, Uruguay." Naturally, there is no comment on any of this by NSA officials.

In addition to diplomatic codes, Kahn explains the existence of codes and ciphers used by military and naval organizations ranging from those used by the highest echelons of command to the smallest administrative units operating in the field. The implications of breaking even a lower priority code is illustrated by what occurred in Vietnam in 1954 during the battle of Dien Bien Phu:

> "Communists in the message center of the French National Defense Committee stole a War Ministry cryptosystem and used it to read orders to the embattled bastion of Dien Bien Phu. This inside information may have contributed to the ultimate capitulation of that fortress, to France's consequent loss of French Indochina, and so to the miseries and warfare in Laos and Vietnam that, more than a decade later, still plagued the West."

The range of communication intelligence stuns the imagination. Mention is made of the SAMOS (Satellite and Missile Observation System) which picks up the radio guidance signals of Soviet missile launch sites and sends these back to US ground stations. The Soviet counterpart, COSMOS, is also existent and operating.

The principal function served by *The Codebreakers* is that an added dimension of depth and understanding is given to events of the two great wars that were fought in the 20th century. Wars during which electronic communication came into full use.

One learns that the battle of Tannenberg of World War I in which the Russians lost some 30,000 men and had 100,000 taken prisoner was due almost solely to the fact that the Germans intercepted the entire battle plans of the Russian staff. The Russians sent their plans over the wireless not in the usual coded form but in the clear. The US Naval forces defeated those of Japan at the battle of Midway because US Naval cryptologic units had broken the Japanese fleet cryptographic system and knew precisely when and where the Japanese Naval units would attack.

Yet woven throughout the whole texture of cryptological victories one seems to sense a law of balance as immutable and inviolate as Newton's Third Law, that for every action there must be an equal and opposite reaction. If the Austrians defeated the Italians in the battle of Caporetto be-

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Stanley Kauffmann, *Associate Literary Editor of this journal, has recently been appointed Chairman of the National Society of Film Critics.* Robert Yoakum *writes on the subject of ethics and has written several articles on the Dodd affair in the national press.* Joseph A. Page *is a member of the faculty of the University of Denver Law School.* Norman J. Gallo *is Head of the Humanities Department at the Worcester, Mass. Public Library.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cause they could read the Italian codes, the French were able to stop one of the Germans' final offensive thrusts in 1918 precisely for the same reason.

If the German U-Boats were able to almost cut Britain's lifeline because they had broken the Allied *Merchant Ships' Code*, the Allies were finally able to destroy the German submarines because US forces had captured one of their code books intact. Though the US could read the Japanese diplomatic codes, the Germans could read those of the US until the middle of 1944 when they were changed.

The enormous amounts of money, time, energy and intellect that must be spent by the major countries on cryptologic communications cannot fail to suggest that man is involved in a modern enactment of the Sisyphean myth. His attempts to read the communications of his "neighbors" (as Marshall McLuhan points out, we are all neighbors in today's "global village") can be compared to his attempting to roll a huge and almost immovable stone to the top of a mountainside. When he starts to decipher the cryptic communications of his fellowmen and the stone is almost to the top, he finds that the codes have been changed and the stone rolls down once again to the bottom of the cliff.

Whose Waterloo?

by Gerald W. Johnson

The only thoroughly bad writing in this book is in the passages descriptive of Robert Kennedy's family relations, with the other Kennedys and with his own wife and children. On this subject Miss Laing's usually crisp prose deteriorates into a swooning style that makes what is really an admirable set of relationships seem downright repellent. It is possible that this is deliberate, but without overwhelming proof one must not accuse a writer of character assassination so subtle as to make Iago look like a simpleton. It is far more probable that this is simply more evidence that even level-headed reporters may succumb to the notoriously powerful Kennedy charisma.

The Next Kennedy
by Margaret Laing
(Coward-McCann; $5.95)

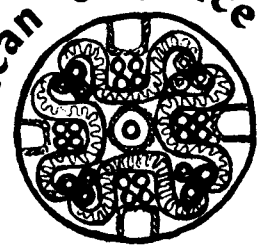
Along with further information about the Kennedys' tremendous clannishness the book contributes more data supporting the widely held impression that all the Kennedys live frantically, and Robert apparently more than any of them. A relic of a calmer age may regard this as a disqualification for the highest office but, after all, we live in a frantic world, and it could be that a measure of frenzy is helpful in the management of affairs.

Miss Laing is convinced, and adduces much evidence to prove it, that in his early days Robert Kennedy was strongly imbued with the belief that the end justifies the means. This accounts for his more tolerant attitude toward Joe McCarthy, and toward the use of highly questionable means to secure the conviction of James Hoffa. Miss Laing quotes the admirable summation by a member of Hoffa's union: "Jimmy and Bobby both deserve one anudder."

The author's designation of this type is "zealot." Harsher critics make it "bigot." But either term designates a man who is strong, bold, ruthless and unjust. Miss Laing asserts flatly that Robert Kennedy has exhibited all these qualities, not only in his handling of public affairs, but in his relations with his staff. To some, his strength and courage outweigh his injustice and petty meanness and they idolize him. But large numbers who have worked for him have walked out in fury.

Kennedy has, of course, one enormously important qualification for the Presidency. He is believed to have about $15 million of his own and, through the family, access to $400 million more. In recent years the American electorate has become more and more permissive of action by machine politicians in both parties resembling the practice of the Praetorian Guard in ancient Rome, who frankly put the Empire up at auction. A man to whom

incan elegance



pin in sterling silver or 18 kt gold . . .

one of the fine hand-made products available from:

andean
box 472-R
cuenca, ecuador

I REQUIRE . . .
a "dating service" that
☐ has outgrown pop prattle about the "swinging scene" (ages 21 to 65)
☐ has the enlightened versatility to match flower children and Wall Street tycoons (although only sometimes with each other)
☐ has penetrated bigtown anonymity to dare deal only with its more cultivated, intelligent, literary community (48% through personal referrals)
☐ offers exclusive, expensive, exhaustive, individual processing by trained consultants
☐ A LOOK AT YOUR OUTSTANDING QUESTIONNAIRE
MIND MATES
Bureau for Interpersonal Relations
509 Fifth Ave., New York, New York 10017
MU 2-3757

BOOK HUNTING?

ANY BOOK LOCATED! No matter how old or long out-of-print. Name the book—we'll find it for you! Write to—Dept. NEW

BOOKS-ON-FILE
Union City, New Jersey 07087

EUROPE

An unregimented trip stressing individual freedom. Low cost yet covers all the usual plus places other tours miss. Unless the standard tour is a "must" for you, discover this unique tour before you go to Europe.

EUROPE SUMMER TOURS
255 Sequoia, Dept. N—Pasadena, Calif. 91105

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JULES FEIFFER

THE BOBBY TWINS

EPISODE 2:

IN WHICH THE GOOD BOBBY GOES ON "FACE THE NATION" AND THE BAD BOBBY RESPONDS.

Dist. Publishers-Hall Syndicate

©1968 JULES FEIFFER 1-14

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

$400 million is available is in a strong market position.

But Robert Kennedy, even by this somewhat devastating account, has other qualities that may be just what are needed in the existing situation. He is as ruthless as Torquemada or John Calvin, and a few years ago he was as certain of his own rightness as they were of theirs, although, says Miss Laing, later experience has somewhat weakened that conviction. He fears God, but neither man nor devil, and he cannot be swerved from his purpose by promises or threats.

In sum, he is presented here as a strong and dangerous man, driven, like all the Kennedys, by a maniacal energy. One closes the book feeling a twinge of sympathy with the Duke of Wellington, reviewing his newly recruited army, and remarking, "I don't know whether my soldiers will frighten the enemy but, by God, sir, they frighten me!"

Correspondence

Stripped Bare at the Follies

Sirs:

Robert Coles' case for the documentary *Titicut Follies* ("Stripped Bare at the Follies," Jan. 20, 1968) is accurate as far as it goes. The film dramatically forces the sane person to conclude that he, too, would be insane before long if he were committed to Massachusetts Correctional Institution at Bridgewater. But Dr. Coles never comes to grips with the equally compelling argument against the film.

In one scene, a young man committed to Bridgewater for raping an 11-year-old girl admits under questioning by a doctor that he also raped his own daughter but "never got caught." The man's face is fully visible, and presumably his daughter is still living in Massachusetts. This is not only a grotesque invasion of privacy; it is a violation of the inmate's right to counsel before testifying against himself, a right articulated by the US Supreme Court and upheld, I am sure, by Dr. Coles.

In another scene, a middle-aged inmate is shown nude with his genitals exposed. He is provoked into a tantrum by a guard, then asked for personal information about himself. He gives his street address in a small Massachusetts city, then discloses that he was a junior high school math teacher in that city before he became ill. Is this the kind of treatment Dr. Coles would wish on himself . . .?

In still another scene, a psychiatrist interviews an inmate before the cameras, a clear violation of the Hippocratic Oath and the Code of Ethics of the American Medical Association, which prohibits a doctor from giving confidential information about a patient unless the safety of the community is in jeopardy or unless required to do so by a court.

The inmates whose lives were thus paraded before thousands of moviegoers have clear-cut grounds for civil suit against those responsible for the film, and many have indicated their intention to make use of it. Few of the inmates were asked to sign releases waiving their right to privacy, and the signatures of those who did are legally worthless because they are mentally incompetent and wards of the state.

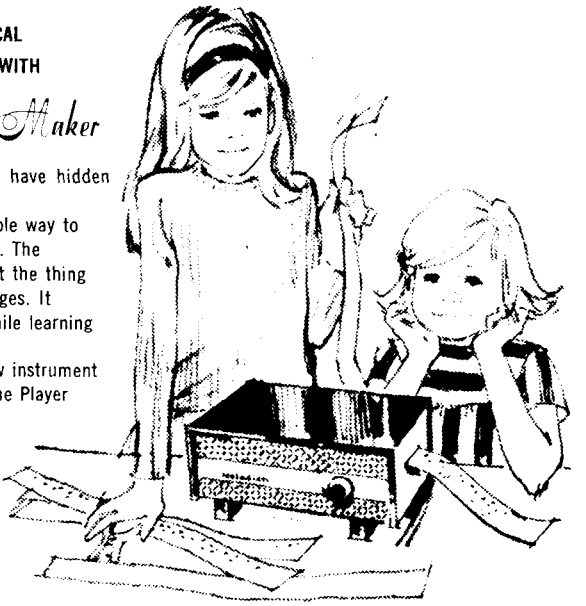
Such legal and moral issues, which form the basis for Massachusetts' successful attempt to ban the movie, are swept aside by Dr. Coles. Instead he asks, "Were men's 'rights' violated, or do places like Bridgewater strip man of everything, their 'rights', their dignity, their humanity?" It should be pointed out that even movie producers and Southern sheriffs cannot strip away rights embodied in laws. To suggest that such is the case simply because the victims are insane and living in a medieval stockade is to say that the ends justify the means, which is poor logic and poor law.

Television documentaries on sensitive social issues seem to have no difficulty disguising the identities of persons interviewed by blacking out eyes or showing only backs or sides of subjects. That this was not done in *Titicut Follies* is a tragedy both for the mental patients paraded nude before the cameras and for the cause of reform at Bridgewater.

Ronald Kessler
New York City

OPEN A NEW WORLD OF MUSICAL ADVENTURE FOR YOUR CHILD WITH

Melodian Music Maker



Is your child creative? Does he have hidden musical talent?
Here is a marvelous and enjoyable way to discover and develop that talent. The MELODIAN MUSIC MAKER is just the thing for beginning musicians of all ages. It allows your child to have fun while learning the fundamentals of music!
THE MELODIAN is a unique, new instrument that works on the principle of the Player Piano. Insert one of the pre-punched musical tapes and THE MELODIAN, with its span of almost 3 octaves, will deliver a full-chorded tune. Other tapes are pre-printed with popular and semi-classical tunes so that your child can complete them with the punch that comes with THE MELODIAN.
Some tapes are pre-printed with just the musical staff (treble and bass clefs) on which your child (or you!) can create an original composition of any length or transcribe from sheet music.
THE MELODIAN MUSIC MAKER comes in a handsome, sturdily constructed, wood-grained case and runs on 3 ordinary flashlight batteries. It will give your child years of enjoyment along with an understanding of music. Give him a musical head-start and the joy of discovering his own musical creativity with THE MELODIAN.

☐ Please send me THE MELODIAN with batteries and 10 tapes. I enclose $20.95 ($19.95 plus $1 for postage & insurance.) Calif. res. add 5% please. Return within 10 days if not delighted. Guaranteed for 1 year for parts and workmanship.

☐ Please send me _____ dozen extra tapes at $1.50 per dozen, for which I enclose an additional $_____.

Name_____

Address_____

_____ Zip_____

TNR 0210

584 Washington
San Francisco, 94111
(415) 981-5688

haverhill's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sirs:

While I found at least one of Dr. Coles' references to me in his recent review of *Titicut Follies* quite flattering, I also found that the line which he drew to separate the "good guys" from the "bad guys" in the case a little too heavy, and his view of the central issue a bit cloudy.

The action brought by my office to enjoin the showing of the film was not triggered by the legislative investigation of the circumstances surrounding its production as Dr. Coles' article implies. Nor was it brought to spare the state any possible embarrassment which would result from public exposure of the deplorable conditions at Bridgewater State Hospital. The suit to enjoin the showing of the film preceded the legislature's investigation by several weeks, and was filed for the sole purpose of protecting the rights of individuals under the state's care.

While the public most assuredly has a right to know about conditions in its tax-supported institutions, this right and that of freedom of speech are not absolute and do not, under all conditions, override the fundamental rights of the individual. When an individual is a patient in a state mental institution and is clearly unable to protect his rights, the state, as guardian, must protect them for him if they are to be protected at all.

It would seem that a decent regard for the dignity and privacy of those who happened to be patients at Bridgewater State Hospital could easily have been reconciled with the announced intention of the film and the conditions at the institution honestly depicted without violating the rights of individuals.

There is, as the court's decision has made clear, no question that the film in its present form violates the inmates' rights to privacy. Nor is there any question that the Commonwealth is obligated to protect these rights. As Superior Court Judge Harry Kalus wrote in his decision in the case, the Commonwealth "not only has the power to protect the privacy of these patients, it has a bounden duty to do so."

It was in the fulfillment of this duty, and for no other reason, that the Commonwealth brought its suit.

Elliot L. Richardson
Attorney General
The Commonwealth of Massachusetts

In reply . . .

Exactly what "rights," exactly what sort of "privacy," and exactly what "dignity" do the patients at Bridgewater State Hospital have? Mr. Richardson's longstanding interest in social and medical problems qualifies him to answer that question candidly – and his position as attorney-general makes his reply terribly significant to thousands of patients in urgent need of help they are not receiving from the State of Massachusetts.

I had no particular interest in flattering Mr. Richardson, merely a desire to indicate how an honest and diligent public servant can eventually find himself talking about a "regard" for dignity and privacy whose *absence* is precisely the issue at stake. I *can* see how he would find any discussion of the "Titicut Follies" troubling, confusing and simplistic. That is what happens when an ethical and medical issue becomes an intensely political one. Thousands of citizens in Massachusetts and other states have had to pay for the kind of dreary, partisan politics that plague the bureaucracies of our state hospital systems, our prisons, our correctional institutions. In Massachusetts a succession of competent and even world-famous penologists, commissioners of mental health and psychiatrists have had to face scandalous inquisitions as well as deals and more deals among legislators or between them and governors – all of which has had the effect of adding high level insult to the daily injury that follows from seriously short funds or crippling and insulting regulations. Moreover the state has an established and apparently expanding appetite for so-called "obscenity" or "pornography." For years authors relied upon censors in Boston to provide their books with a certain boost that no other kind of advertising can quite equal. It is a sad fact that the "Titicut Follies" is known today less for the critical acclaim it has received than the repeated charges that it not only takes away "privacy," from incredibly ignored and humiliated people but somehow caters to the prurient or obscene tastes of the viewer – who is exposed to such disedifying and unusual spectacles as nudity and sexual behavior.

In any event, Judge Kalus and Mr. Richardson are utterly right: the great Commonwealth of Massachusetts does indeed have the "bounden duty" to protect the privacy of the men and women it locks up in places like Bridgewater and perhaps some day will interpret that "duty" more intelligently and compassionately.

Meanwhile, I fear that once again we can see how the mind's ability to abstract, to toy with words, to summon rhetoric and jargon – legalistic, psychiatric or political, it makes no difference – serves the purpose of keeping us from the most obvious, concrete and shameful realities. Wars are fought and patients confined forever to virtual dungeons in the name of words like "freedom" or "privacy" – which effectively conceal from our attention the brutal facts of man's greed, cunning and callousness. *Robert Coles*

Beyond Imperialism

Sirs:

The lead article "Beyond Imperialism" (January 27) made the point that in the post-imperial world "manipulating or ordering the internal life of weaker states cannot be one of . . . [the special] responsibilities" which "great powers will still have . . . commensurate with their strength."

The unwillingness of the United States to acknowledge this fact may be traced in large measure to the existence in the State Department and its offshoots, of an entrenched establishment created specifically to attempt to

Changing address?

In changing address send both old and new addresses to

SUBSCRIPTION DEPARTMENT
THE NEW REPUBLIC
381 WEST CENTER STREET
MARION, OHIO 43302

Allow three weeks for change to become effective

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

manipulate the internal affairs of other nations and operating on the premise that success in this endeavor will yield control of world affairs.

The longevity and persistence of this establishment were epitomized by the appearances of two of its leaders, Dean Acheson and Walt Whitman Rostow, on recent PBL telecasts. These television interviews also suggested an analogy between the leaders of this foreign affairs establishment and some of our tightly closed industrial minds. Although the certitude of these foreign policy makers was perhaps better curried than that of the average automaker in denying that his car is unsafe or the average drugmaker in denying that his pills are overpriced, the blindness induced by staring at one's own bright light is equally evident in both kinds of manufacturing establishment.

The analogy to industry breaks down if pressed too far, however. The consequences of self-serving self-righteousness in the private sector, for instance, though serious enough, rarely in fact jeopardize more than a small proportion of the population at any given moment. The vested interest of our foreign affairs establishment in a bankrupt policy imperils us all.

It is unrealistic, moreover, while members of this establishment hold the reins of power, to hope that we will begin, as you say, "looking and planning for . . . what comes next – beyond imperialism – a noncoercive collective social and economic effort by the advanced nations that can give real hope of progress to the newer nations."

Francis O. Spalding
School of Law
Northwestern University

Kauffmann, *from page 20*

wedding was not only mechanical but visually sterile, and that in general this last third had to be both compressed and heightened. In reaction to the novel's weaknesses, they devised a conclusion that has weaknesses of its own. But there is a vast difference between weakness and compromise.

Benjamin does *not* change, in my view, from the hero of a serious comedy about a frustrated youth to the hero of a glossy romance; he changes *as Benjamin*. It is the difference between the women in his life that changes him. Being the person he is, he could not have been assured with Mrs. Robinson any more than he could have been ridiculous and uncommanding with Elaine. We can actually see the change happen – the scene with Elaine at the hamburger joint where he puts up the top of the car, closes the windows, and talks. *Talks* – for the first time in the film. Those who insist that Mrs. Robinson's Benjamin should be the same as Elaine's Benjamin are denying the effect of love – particularly its effect on Benjamin, to whom it is not only joy but escape from the nullity of his affair and the impending nullity of himself.

There is even a cinematic hint early in the picture of the change that is to come. Our first glimpse of Mrs. Robinson's nudity is a reflection in the glass covering her daughter's portrait.

In character and in moral focus the film does not split, but there is a fundamental weakness in the novel which the film tries, not quite successfully, to escape. The pivot of action shifts, after the story goes to Berkeley, from Benjamin to Elaine. From then on, he knows what he wants; it is she who has to work through an internal crisis. It was Nichols' job to dramatize this crisis without abandoning his protagonist, to show the girl adjusting to the shocking fact of Benjamin's affair with her mother, and to show it with, so to speak, only a series of visits by her to the picture. To make it worse, the environment – of the conventional campus romantic comedy – works against the seriousness of the material. The library, the quad, the college corridor have to be *overcome*, in a sense. Nichols never lets up his pressure on what he feels the film is about, but the obliqueness of the action and the associative drawbacks of the locale never quite cease to be difficulties. And, as I noted, the final chase – though well done – does get thin.

But I think that, with some viewers, Nichols also suffers from his virtues. He has played to his strength, which is comedy; for, with all its touching moments and its essential seriousness, this is a very funny picture. A comedy about a young man and his father's partner's wife immediately seems adventurous; a comedy about a young man and a girl automatically gets shoved into a pigeonhole. This latter derogation seems to me unjust. We have only to remember (and to me it is unforgettable) that what is separating these young lovers is not a broken date or a trivial quarrel but a deep taboo in our society. For me, the end proof of the picture's genuine depth is the climax in the church, with Dustin Hoffman (even more moving the second time I saw him) screaming the girl's name from behind the glass wall. A light romance? That is a naked, last cry to the girl to free herself of the meaningless taboo, to join him in trying to find some possible new truth.

Yes, there are weaknesses. Yes, there are some really egregious gags. ("Are you looking for an affair?" the hotel clerk asks the confused Benjamin in the lobby.) But in cinematic skill, in intent, in sheer connection with us, *The Graduate* is, if I may repeat it, a milestone in American film history.

PERSONALS

HARPSICHORDS Same as owned by Philadelphia Orchestra and RCA Victor. In kit form for home workshop assembly $150. Clavichord kit $100. Free brochure. Write: Zuckermann Harpsichords, Dept. P, 115 Christopher S.t, N.Y.C. 10014.

BUTTONS. "Go Naked" – 25c; 5/$1. Free list! SUB- Box 3365, Midway, Washington 98031.

TEA DEVOTEES naturally select Grace Rare Teas. Free brochure. Grace Tea Importers, Dept. 8-2, 79 Wall Street, NYC.

"McCARTHY IN '68," tags. 3/$1. Box 284-NR, Hannibal, Mo. 63401.

WILD POSTERS, far-out bumper strips, buttons! Crazy Labels, Box 21-B, Olympia, Washington.

SLEEP-LEARNING; HYPNOTISM! Strange catalog free. Autosuggestion, Box 24-NR, Olympia, Washington.

COMPUTER DATING SERVICE for single adults. Send for free brochure. COMPUTADATE, P.O. Box 20-N, Peabody, Mass. 01960.

TOPICAL HUMOR SERVICE and forty speaker's jokebooks. Catalog free. Samples $5.00. Orben Publications, Dept. 105, Baldwin, N.Y.

SILENCE TV COMMERCIALS. "Do-it-yourself" instructions 25c; complete kit $2.00. THE SILENCER, P.O. Box 106, Berkeley, Cal., 94701.

MAKE LOVE NOT WAR symbol rubber stamp. $2; 3/$5. SUB- Box 3365, Midway, Washington 98031.

HIP AMERICANA. Posters, postcards; for color brochure mail 25c to: AMERICAN NEWSREPEAT COMPANY, P.O. Box 18214, San Francisco 94118.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AMERICA NEEDS NELSON ROCKEFELLER IN 1968. If you agree, tell us and we'll send you a free Rockefeller for President button. Republicans for Rockefeller, 1 Beekman Street, New York, N. Y. 10038.

RICHARD A. CLOWARD: RACE AND THE CITY, February 29. Lecture at Coppin State College; 7:30 P.M., 2500 North Ave., Baltimore, Md.

IF YOU BELONG TO THAT NEGLECTED AGE GROUP, 40-60, and if you feel that "people need people," and stimulating, gay companionship, write to Twogether Associates, Inc., 38 East 57th St., New York City 10022.

USE INITIATIVE PROCEDURE to legalize abortion and every other victimless activity. LEGALIZE LIBERTY, POB 24282, Los Angeles, 90024.

ARE YOU A MINOR OR A MAJORITY? "Age 18 Vote!" campaign buttons, bumper banners: 4/$1.00; 100/$15.00. Collins, Box 5746-R, Santa Monica, California 90405. PS: Write a letter to *Playboy*.

MEDITATION? Practice invokes knowledge, evokes insight. First year bimonthly training course free. Write: MEDITATIONS, Box 1244 N, Greenwich, Connecticut 06830.

SEARCHING? : : : : : It's not enough to just "know thyself." COM/PAIR, the "People-Matching-People" of Princeton speed your search. It's a way to meet a truly interesting match. National, international clients. $10 fee payable when you return questionnaire. Request free questionnaire from Com/Pair Systems, NR10, 194 Nassau, Princeton, N. J.

TAKE A *POSITION* – Wear the peace dove. Neat, discreet, quality ¾" pin. White enamel on gold for man or woman. $1.50. Quantity prices available. Peace Pins, 161 Grandview Ave., Monsey, N.Y. 10952.

MONEY – SPARE-TIME OPPORTUNITY. We pay cash for nothing but your opinions, written from home, about samples of our clients' products. Nothing to sell, canvass or learn. NO SKILLS; NO EXPERIENCE. Just honesty. Details from: RESEARCH 669, Mineola, N. Y. 11501. Dept. GW-21.

"WALLACE FER PRESADINT," "Soul-Brother Symposium," "Amalgamated Plagiarists," "Anarchy Foundation" and 6 additional irreverent letterheads with envelopes, $1.00. 25 different, $2.00. Knippenstammer, Box 6802, Cleveland, Ohio.

OVER 100 DIFFERENT PICTURES can be created with plastic pieces of our unique puzzle. Invites creativity. 8-up. $1.15 p.p. TOY BOX, Box 919, Asbury Park, N. J.

BUTTONS, POSTERS, psychedelia. "Dump Johnson in '68" and hundreds of others. Peace, sex freedom, humorous and psychedelic themes. Frèe wholesale catalogue. FREE SPEECH INC., 28 St. Marks Pl., NYC 10009, planet earth.

IN-PINS – Grasshopper, goldbug, penguin, cat, frog, ant, pig, snail, bee, caterpillar, bunny, mouse, ladybug – 13 delightful little critters for dress, lapel, necktie; 2/$1.00. Complete menagerie: $5.00. IDEA CO., Box 2260, Grand Central Station, N. Y. 10017.

PSYCHEDELIC LIGHT MACHINE – Assembles in minutes with under ten dollars of easily obtainable parts. Send $1.00 for instructions, drawing, to Carelton Co., 2317 Delancy, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19103.

NEW ZEALAND: English speaking, British Commonwealth socialist democracy (for example, free hospitalization) in the Southern Hemisphere, near Australia. Data and information on immigration, education, jobs, draft, housing, etc., from an American 4-year resident in New Zealand; send $5.50 check or money order to J. C. Clarke, P.O. Box 6412 Wellesley St., Auckland, New Zealand.

AUTOMOBILE BUMPER STICKERS, Custom-made, low-cost advertising for Organizations, Special Events, Political Campaigns, Slogans, School Projects, Business, Theatrical Productions, Tourist Attractions, Motels, Resorts, and Drive-Ins. Write for Free Brochure, Price List and Samples. Please State Intended Use. Reflective Advertising, Inc., Dept. NR, 873 Longacre, St. Louis, Mo. 63132.

"REAGAN & LASSIE IN '68," "Kill for Peace," "War Is Good Business," "Invest Your Son," "Dump Johnson in '68," "Johnson for Ex-President," "The Governor of Alabama Is a Mother," "Draft Beer Not Students," "Send Batman to Vietnam," "Make Love Not War," "Sex Before Finals," "Legalize Pot," "Incest Begins at Home," "Studying Causes Cancer," "Chaste Makes Waste," king-size bumper strips. 2/$1, 5/$2, 15/$5. TOPP, Box 1802, Chicago, Illinois 60690.

"PROTEST WITH DISTINCTION"; Controversial underground bumper stickers. Free list: Dealers inquire. SNICKER STICKERS, Box 4243, Hollywood, Florida 33023.

UNI - LINGUAL OR EXTRA - LINGUAL? Free, pleasurable, effective language learning through a unique new cross-cultural conversation exchange project. Language Liaisons Unlimited Refers You to a Carefully Chosen Listing of Foreign-Born New York Residents Whose Native Language You Are Learning . . . and Who Want to Perfect Their Knowledge of Yours. Free Literature: Language Liaisons, 1 E. 42nd St., NYC, MU-2-3757.

LITERATURE

NEW DIRECTIONS IN TEACHING. A dynamic non-journal confronting stultifying undergraduate teaching. $4.00. Bowling Green University, Ohio 43402.

GROUP PROCESSES: AN INTRODCTION TO GROUP DYNAMICS by Joseph Luft. In use at Yale, Reed, Stanford, Howard, UCLA, etc. Softbound, $1.95 from National Press Books, Palo Alto, Calif. 94304.

SOCIALIST BOOKS – Literature, catalog, free. New York Labor News, Dept. R, 116 Nassau Street, Brooklyn, N. Y. 11201.

UNDERGROUND DIGEST. 96 page bi-monthly containing the best articles from "underground" newspapers across the country. Annual subscriptions, $3.00. Box 211-R, Village Station, New York, N. Y. 10014.

THE NEW SOUTH STUDENT, published monthly by the Southern Student Organizing Committee. Covering the peace, civil rights and student movements, Southern history and politics, university reform. Subscription $4.00 yearly, sample 50c. Box 6403, Nashville, Tennessee.

READ ON FREE TRIAL. "Love and Power: The Psychology of Interpersonal Creativity" by renegade psychiatrist Paul Rosenfels, M.D. ($4.95). Describes an avant garde view of the real nature of creativity – challenges conformist thinking of the modern Freudian era. Write: National Mailcraft, Book Division, Room 401-B, 1737 W. Howard St., Chicago, Ill. 60626.

BRITISH BOOK BARGAINS – All subjects. Catalogue free. Wants found. Transbooks, Box 44-NR, Matawan, New Jersey.

FROM PEKING & HANOI: Mao Tse-tung's "Quotations" and "On People's War," both famous little red books for $1.00. Ho-Chi-Minh's "Prison Diary," 75c. Subscription to *Peking Review*, 52 weeks, air, $4.00. Subscription to *Vietnam Courier*, 26 weeks, $5.00. Payment with order to CHINA BOOKS, Dept. NR, 2929-24th St., San Francisco 94110. FREE CATALOG.

EMPLOYMENT

MANUSCRIPTS TYPED. Proof-read – Minor editing; 65c per 1,000 words — mailed flat. Carbon free. R. Gardner, 622 E. 89th St., Chicago, Ill. 60619.

POSITION OPEN: Executive Director, American Civil Liberties Union of Washington. Salary to $12,500. Background in civil liberties work necessary. Write ACLU of Washington, 2101 Smith Tower, Seattle, Washington 98104.

TEACHING OPPORTUNITIES — Teachers, all subjects and levels; administrators, department heads, housemothers, nurses, etc.; private schools, all states, beginners, experienced; initial details without obligation; confidential. School Service Bureau, Box 2780, Windsor, Connecticut.

WRITERS – N.Y. publisher wants books on all subjects, fiction, nonfiction. No fee for professional opinion. FREE: Brochures that show how your book can be published, publicized, sold; contracts. Write Dept. 107, EXPOSITION PRESS, INC., 386 Park Avenue So., New York, N.Y. 10016.

FULL-TIME MALE WANTED to direct a relatively new and exciting program established to cope with the problems of drug addiction in New Haven, Connecticut. Position consists of such administrative tasks as writing proposals, developing program, negotiating with public and private agencies, etc. Program is presently funded by private foundation with a secure promise of future grant. Position is available immediately. For more information write to NARCO, Inc., 216 Congress Avenue, New Haven, Conn. Salary will meet qualifications of applicant.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GRADUATE STUDENTS and PhD's needed for teaching positions in Negro colleges. Summer and full year positions. Write Southern Education Program, 859½ Hunter Street, Atlanta, Georgia 30314.

DIRECTOR WANTED for planning and operation of family-centered community action program. MSW, Masters in Sociology, Child Development or related field desirable. Imagination and skill in dealing with community organizations important. Contact PCC, Greater Omaha Community Action, 1802 Dodge, Omaha, Nebraska 68102.

OVERSEAS POSITIONS offer high salaries, free travel. Comprehensive new "Guide to Employment Abroad," covers all possibilities. Includes "Directory of American Companies Overseas," and special reports on summer jobs, Government careers overseas, international organizations, medical work, teaching, librarian, secretarial positions, English-language newspapers overseas, social work. Send $1.00, plus 50¢ postage/handling. Money-back guarantee. Hill International Publications, P.O. Box 79-N, East Islip, N.Y. 11730.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR TEACHING IN AFRICA. Posts available for volunteer teachers at Nkumbi International College, a secondary level school maintained by the African-American Institute in Zambia, starting summer 1968. Teachers are needed as follows: English, English as a second language, Science, Mathematics. We are also recruiting for a graduate nurse and a graduate librarian. B.A./B.S. necessary. Advanced training in education, experience as teacher or student teacher an asset but not requisite. Volunteers are hired for 1 or 2 year tours. Salary $1,700 for first year, $2,100 for second year plus housing, benefits, transportation. Must be single unless both husband and wife can serve as volunteers. Send resume to Mrs. Hullar, African-American Institute, 866 U.N. Plaza, New York, N. Y. 10017.

EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY AVAILABLE for attorney with trial and administrative experience as Deputy Director of Legal Services Program for Navajo Indian Reservation. Function entails giving leadership to ten staff attorneys in five field offices and participation in administration of a large, outstanding program. High competence and commitment to dauntless advocacy of indigents indispensable. Arizona or New Mexico license preferred. Position at Central Office, Window Rock, Arizona. Salary: $12,000 per annum plus fringe benefits and housing allotment. Send resume to: Theodore R. Mitchell, Director, DINEBEIINA NAHIILNA BE AGADITAHE, INC., P.O. Box 415, Window Rock, Arizona 86515. Telephone: 602 – 871-4151.

CHALLENGING OPPORTUNITIES IMMEDIATELY AVAILABLE with an outstanding Legal Services Program on the Navajo Reservation for capable attorneys who are interested in meaningful public service responsibility and broad legal experience. Positions in Arizona and New Mexico entail advice and representation of individual Navajo Indians regarding commercial transactions, welfare administration, domestic relations, criminal matters, cooperatives and many other matters. Litigation in State, Federal and Tribal courts. State license or intention to obtain required. Salary: Depending upon qualifications and experience. Attorneys: $8,000 to $10,000 per annum. Housing allotment. Send resume to: Theodore R. Mitchell, Director, DINEBEIINA NAHIILNA BE AGADITAHE, INC., P.O. Box 415, Window Rock, Arizona 86515. Telephone: 602 – 871-4151.

EDUCATION DIRECTOR for Community Run Ghetto School. M.A. degree, community experience preferred. Able to devise and implement education program for children 3 to 8. Interested in innovation in urban education. Federally financed but locally controlled program. Must be willing to move to Newark. Salary up to $9,500.00. Contact: Josiah Whitley, personnel chairman, or Derek Winans, chairman, 124 Branford Pl., Newark, N. J. (201) 624-0961, -62.

SCHOOLS AND CAMPS

FOR STUDENTS 15-19. Special travel programs that emphasizes doing, rather than just sightseeing, and close contact with people of other lands. Travel with European teenagers and live with a European family; speak French in France all summer; visit a Soviet Youth Camp; study Spanish in Spain – or choose from varied list of trips planned to help you know a part of Europe well. For full catalogue write: George N. Shumlin, Director, The European Travel-Camp, Putney, Vermont 05346. (17th year.)

VACATIONS/TRAVEL

FREE TRAVEL NEWSLETTER! GO- the adventure Newsletter tells the unusual, unique, exciting, out-of-the-way places for vacation travel throughout the world. INTRODUCTORY OFFER – only $3.50 a year. We'll send your first exciting issue FREE. Write GO – Box 571, Barrington, Illinois.

CULTURAL SUMMER TOURS in depth to Socialist countries. For professionals, students, artists, writers. Write *American Dialogue* Magazine, 32 Union Square, N.Y.C. 10003.

PROFESSIONAL ANTHROPOLOGIST will take high school students on summer study tour of nontourist Mexico. Gibson, Box 1697, Hyattsville, Maryland.

WORLDWIDE FREIGHTER GUIDE – $1.25. Rates, schedules 700 passenger carrying freighters. Travel-tips, 40-21 JAF, Bell, Bayside, N.Y. 11361.

---

287 EUROPEAN HOTELS, 167 cities, 24 countries. Excellent, inexpensive. Prices, addresses. $1.00. Voyager, Ltd., Box 24684NR, Los Angeles, California 90024.

PROPERTY – Sale/Rent

SUMMER HOME NEEDED: rent/buy house, sit. Bucks/Hunterdon area. J. Eisinger, 197 W. Houston St., New York City.

MOVING TO CHICAGO? CONSIDER LIVING IN INTEGRATED *MARYNOOK*. – Chicago's nationally famous interracial community. Modern houses are set along tree-lined, winding streets, adjoining a large, beautiful park, near the University of Chicago. For information write: 8560 Dorchester, Chicago, Illinois, or phone 312 – 731-9384.

ARTS AND CRAFTS

PEACE SYMBOLS, hand-crafted, ruggedly cast in bronze and hung from soft leather thongs – $2.50. Gudies Heart Shopee, 10512 1st Ave., Inglewood, California 90303.

ORIGINAL LITHOGRAPHS, ETCHINGS: Chagall, Miro, Braque. Moderately priced. Send 50c for illustrated catalogue. George N. Kirschner, 90-59 56th Avenue, Elmhurst, New York 11373.

ANDEAN SWEATERS – Ski? – Handsome, bulky, hand-knit, hand-spun, 100% wool sweaters – moderately priced. (C.D. Project). Write: ANDEAN, Box 472, Cuenca, Ecuador.

BOOKPLATES. Free catalog. Many beautiful designs. Address BOOKPLATES, Yellow Springs 3, Ohio.

WOULD YOU BELIEVE? EXCITING ORIGINAL woodcuts, etchings, lithos, $4.50 each. Subscription information: Graphic Circle, (NR) 68 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10011.

COLLECT ORIGINAL, SIGNED ETCHINGS and lithographs by America's foremost artists, including Altman, Gross, Kleinholz, Doris Lee, from $10. Free catalog with 47 illustrations. (Mail 25c for handling.) Associated American Artists, Studio 6B, 605 Fifth Avenue, N.Y.C. 10017. Our 34th year.

MUSIC

HARPSICHORDS, CLAVICHORDS by Sperrhake. Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8710 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Md.

SUPERB SOUND QUALITY make Sabathil harpsichords famous, 3911 W 25th, Vancouver, Canada.

UNIQUE DULCIMERS, write Alpine Dulcimers, Box 4191 NR, Albuquerque, N.M. 87106.

CLASSIFIED RATES

Per word (single insertion) 25c
Per word 6 times in one contract year.....23c
Per word 12 times in one contract year.....22c
Per word 24 times in one contract year.....20c
Per word 48 times in one contract year.....18c
Payment in Advance of Insertion Required for Less Than 24 Insertions in One Year

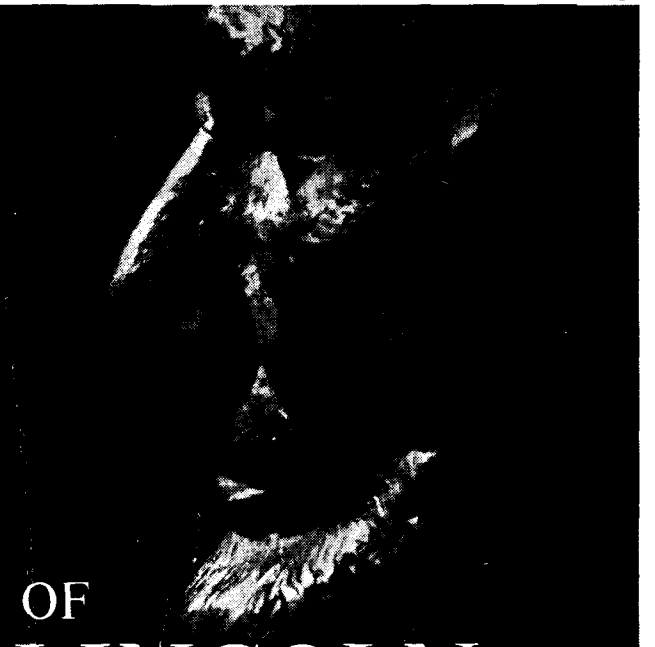
THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W.,
Washington, D. C. 20036

Printed by National Publishing Division
The McCall Printing Co.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Life mask taken 60 days before Lincoln's death. The hand was cast in 1860. From the collection of Clarence Hay

The pain and exaltation . . . the wit and wisdom . . . the doubts and the monumental courage—every important word he ever wrote or uttered . . .



THE COLLECTED WORKS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

NINE VOLUMES (PUBLISHER'S LIST PRICE $115.00) YOURS FOR $5.95

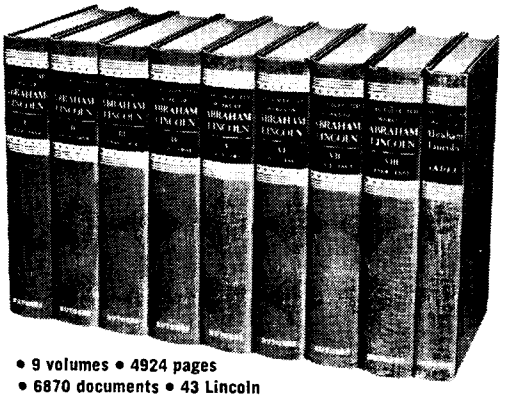
WITH TRIAL MEMBERSHIP IN THE HISTORY BOOK CLUB

ONLY OFFERING THIS YEAR—in observance of LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY

TODAY a century of legend blurs our image of Lincoln the man, but the human Lincoln now speaks to us clearly in these nine handsome volumes containing 6870 private and public papers, half of them never before in print.

Collected, indexed and richly annotated by a team of our foremost Lincoln scholars, headed by Dr. Roy P. Basler of The Library of Congress, the set was 26 years in preparation. It carries a Publisher's List Price of $115. But, in observance of Lincoln's Birthday, The History Book Club offers it to you with trial membership at the extraordinary price of just $5.95. The Club consistently offers fine permanent editions of the most important and readable works in history and world affairs, always at dramatic savings. (Last year, members enjoyed savings of over 50% on the books they chose to take.)

With your *Lincoln* set, choose your first membership book from those listed below at reduced Member's Prices. You must be delighted with all books or return them within two weeks, thus cancelling your membership. Please note: this special offer will *not* be repeated for at least a year. Mail the coupon today.



• 9 volumes • 4924 pages
• 6870 documents • 43 Lincoln photographs, engravings and manuscript facsimiles

START MEMBERSHIP WITH ANY ONE OF THESE BOOKS

(First price is Publisher's List; **boldface** shows Member's Price.)

589. THE PROBLEM OF SLAVERY IN WESTERN CULTURE by David Brion Davis. Vast and detailed, this is a scholarly work of the first order. $10.00/**$7.50**

577. THE CODEBREAKERS by David Kahn. The first comprehensive history of secret communication in both war and peace. $14.95/**$8.95**

583. THE DEVIL DRIVES: A LIFE OF SIR RICHARD BURTON by Fawn M. Brodie. "Buy it, steal it, read it." *N. Y. Times.* $6.95/**$5.70**

567. AMERICA'S WESTERN FRONTIERS by John A. Hawgood. A lively social history of the rugged individualists who opened up the West. $10.00/**$7.50**

572. THE CHINESE: THEIR HISTORY AND CULTURE by Kenneth Scott Latourette. A wealth of information, in this fourth revised edition. $12.50/**$8.95**

575. TO MOVE A NATION by Roger Hilsman. An inside view of foreign policy in the Kennedy administration. $6.95/**$5.90**

573. DISRAELI by Robert Blake. This portrait of Queen Victoria's enigmatic genius—and his age—has been acclaimed a masterpiece. $12.50/**$8.75**

545. VIET-NAM WITNESS by Bernard B. Fall. Evolution of the Viet-Nam crisis by one of the most authoritative on-the-scene commentators. $6.95/**$5.80**

556. THE SPIRIT OF 'SEVENTY-SIX: The story of the American Revolution as told by participants, edited by Henry Steele Commager and Richard B. Morris. $15.00/**$9.95**

587. HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY by Russell F. Weigley. The development of the Army from colonial times to Viet-Nam. $12.95/**$8.60**

558. THE BIRTH OF EUROPE by Robert Lopez. Comprehensive and philosophical, this is a stunning re-evaluation of Medieval Europe. $15.00/**$8.95**

554. TRIAL OF THE GERMANS: NUREMBERG 1945-46 by Eugene Davidson. Brilliant biographies of the Nazi leadership. $12.50/**$8.95**

THE HISTORY BOOK CLUB Stamford, Connecticut 06904

Please open Trial Membership and send me the $115 COLLECTED WORKS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN plus the membership book choice shown below. Bill my LINCOLN set at $5.95 and my membership book at the money-saving Member's Price.

I understand I may return all books within 10 days if I am not delighted with them and that their return will automatically cancel my Trial Membership. Otherwise I shall complete Trial Membership by purchasing 4 more selections during the coming year from more than 100 offered to me at money-saving Member's Prices in the monthly REVIEW. (A reply card is always enclosed with the REVIEW.)

Completion of Trial Membership will entitle me to choose a Bonus Book for every 4 books I purchase thereafter. (NOTE: Bonus Books are shipped at the Club's expense. On all other shipments, a small postage and packing charge is added.)

MY BOOK CHOICE IS NUMBER_____

Name_____

City_____

Address_____

State_____ **Zip Code**_____

In Canada, same savings. Shipment of books and all services will be handled within Canada. Bonus plan differs slightly. **NR 23 L**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED